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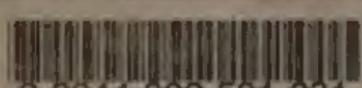
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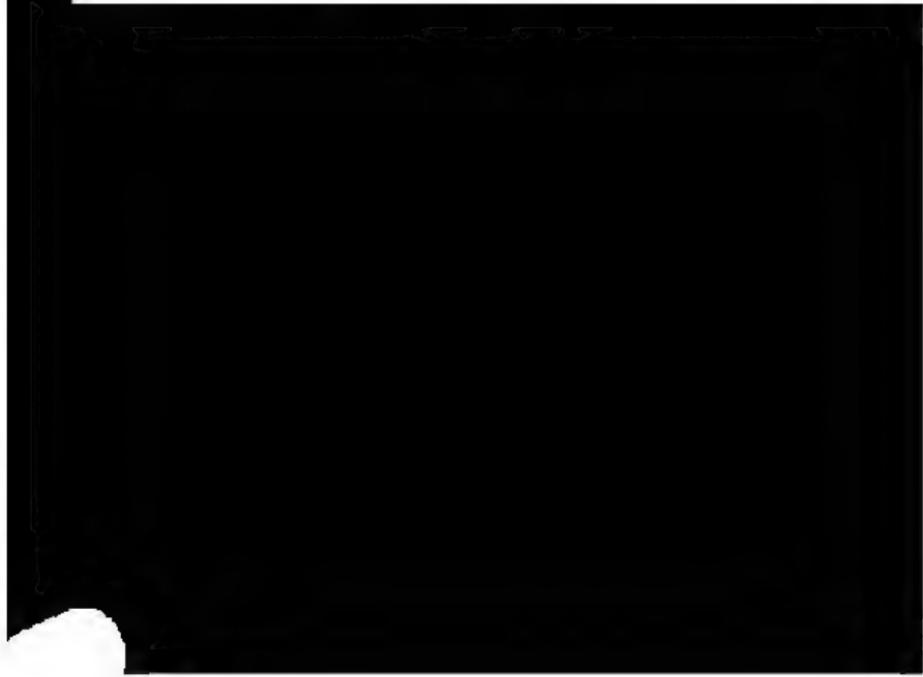
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THE  
LIFE AND ADVENTURES

OF

**Robinson Crusoe,**

OF YORK, MARINER.

WITH  
ILLUSTRATIONS

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS TRAVELS ROUND  
THREE PARTS OF THE GLOBE.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY THOMAS STOTHARD, R. A  
ENGRAVED BY CHARLES HEATH.

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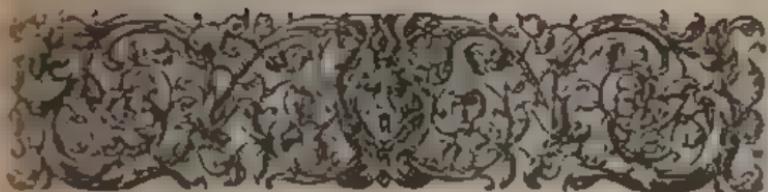
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## *Preface.*

**I**F ever the story of any private man's adventures in the world were worth making public, and were acceptable when published, the Editor of this account thinks this will be so.

The wonders of this man's life exceed all that he thinks; is to be found extant; the life of one man being scarce capable of a greater variety.

The story is told with modesty, with seriousness, and with a religious application of events to the uses to which wise men always apply them; viz. to the instruction of others, by this example, and

## PREFACE.

*to justify and honour the wisdom of Providence in all the variety of our circumstances, let them happen how they will.*

*The Editor believes the thing to be a just history of facts; neither is there any appearance of fiction in it: and however thinks, because all such things are disputed, that the improvement of it, as well to the diversion, as to the instruction of the Reader, will be the same; and as such, he thinks, without*



## THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF Robinson Crusoe.

WAS born in the year 1632, in the city of York, of a good family, though not of that country, my father being a foreigner of *Bremen*, who settled first at *Hull*: he got a good estate by merchandise, and leaving off his trade, lived afterward at *York*; from whence he had married my mother, whose relations were named *Robinson*, a very good family in that country, and from whom I was called *Robinson Crusoe*; but by the usual corruption of names in England, we are now called, nay we call ourselves, and write our name *Crusoe*; and so my companions always called me.

I had two elder brothers, one of which was lieutenant-colonel in an English regiment of Foot in *Flanders*, formerly commanded by the famous Colonel *Lockhart*, and was killed at the battle of *Dunkirk* against the Spaniards. What became of my second brother I never knew, any more than my father or mother did know what was become of me.

Being the third son of the family, and not bred to any trade, my head began to be filled very early with rambling thoughts:

my father, who was very ancient, had given me a competent share of learning, as far as house education, and a country free-school generally goes, and designed me for the law; but I would be satisfied with nothing but going to sea; and my inclination to this led me so strongly against the will, nay the commands of my father, and against all the entreaties and persuasions of my mother and other friends, that there seemed to be something fatal in that propension of nature tending directly to the life of misery which was to befall me.

My father, a wise and grave man, gave me serious and excellent counsel against what he foresaw was my design. He called me one morning into his chamber, where he was confined by the gout, and expostulated very warmly with me upon this subject: he asked me what reasons more than a mere wandering inclination I had for leaving my father's house and my native country, where I might be well introduced, and had a prospect of raising my fortune by application and industry, with a life of ease and pleasure. He told me it was for men of desperate fortunes on one hand, or of aspiring superior fortunes on the other, who went abroad upon adventures, to rise by enterprize, and make themselves famous in undertakings of a nature out of the common road; that these things were all either too far above me, or too far below me; that mine was the middle state, or what might be called the upper station of *low life*, which he had found by long experience was the best state in the world, the most suited to human happiness, not exposed to the miseries and hardships, the labour and sufferings of the mechanic part of mankind, and not embarrassed with the pride, luxury, ambition, and envy of the upper part of mankind. He told me, I might judge of the happiness of this state, by this one thing, *viz.* That King *have frequently lamented* the miserable consequences of being born to *great things*, and wish they had been placed in the middle <



It happened that he had appointed to go out in this boat, either for pleasure or for fish, with two or three *Moors* of some distinction in that place, and for whom he had provided extraordinarily; and had therefore sent on board the boat over night a larger store of provisions than ordinary; and had ordered me to get ready three fuses with powder and shot, which were on board his ship, for that they designed some sport of fowling, as well as fishing.

I got all things ready as he had directed, and waited the next morning with the boat washed clean, her ancient and pendant out, and every thing to accommodate his guests; when by and by my patron came on board alone, and told me his guests had put off going, upon some business that fell out, and ordered me with the man and boy, as usual, to go out with the boat and catch them some fish, for that his friends were to sup at his house; and commanded that as soon as I got some fish I should bring it home to his house; all which I prepared to do.

This moment my former notions of deliverance darted into my thoughts, for now I found I was like to have a little ship at my command; and my master being gone, I prepared to furnish myself, not for a fishing business, but for a voyage; though I knew not, neither did I so much as consider, whither I should steer; for any where to get out of that place was my way.

My first contrivance was to make a pretence to speak to this *Moor*, to get something for our subsistence on board; for I told him we must not presume to eat of our patron's bread: he said that was true; so he brought a large basket of rusk or biscuit of their kind, and three jars with fresh water into the boat. I knew where my patron's case of bottles stood, which it was evident by the make were taken out of some *English* prize; and I conveyed them into the boat while the *Moor* was on shore, as if they had been there before for our master; I conveyed also a great lump of beeswax into the boat, which weighed above half

hundred weight, with a parcel of twine or thread, a hatchet, a ~~box~~, and a hammer, all which were of great use to us afterwards; especially the wax to make candles. Another trick I tried upon him, which he innocently came into also; his name was *Israel*, who they call *Muly*, or *Maley*; so I called to him, *Maley*, said I, our patron's guns are on board the boat, can you not get a little powder and shot, it may be we may kill some *Aleamies* (a fowl like our *curleets*) for ourselves, for I know he keeps the master's stores in the ship? Yes, says he, I'll bring some; and accordingly he brought a great leather pouch which held about a pound and a half of powder, or rather more; and another with shot, that had five or six pounds, with some bullets, and put all into the boat: at the same time I had found some powder of my master's in the great cabin, with which I filled one of the large bottles in the case, which was almost empty; pouring what was in it into another: and thus furnished with every thing needful, we sailed out of the port to fish. The castle which is at the entrance of the port knew who we were, and took no notice of us; and we were not above a mile out of the port before we hoisted in our sail, and set us down to fish: the wind blew from the N N E. which was contrary to my desire; for had it blown southerly I had been sure to have made the coast of Spain, and so east reached to the bay of *Cadiz*; but my resolutions were, now which way it would, I would be gone from that horrid place where I was, and leave the rest to fate.

After we had fished some time and catched nothing, for when I had fish on my hook I would not pull them up, that he might not see them; I said to the *Moor*, this will not do, our master will not be thus served, we must stand farther off. he thinking so farm agreed, and being in the head of the boat set the sails; but as I had the helm I run the boat out near a league farther, and then brought her to as if I would fish, when giving the boy the helm, I stept forward to where the *Moor* was, and making

as if I stooped for something behind him, I took him by surprise with my arm under his twist, and tossed him clear over-board into the sea. He rose immediately, for he swam like a cork, and calling to me, begged to be taken in, told me he would go all over the world with me ; he swam so strong after the boat that he would have reached me very quickly, there being but little wind ; upon which I stepped into the cabin, and fetching one of the fowling pieces, I presented it at him, and told him, I had done him no hurt, and if he would be quiet I would do him none : but, said I, you swim well enough to reach to the shore, and the sea is calm, make the best of your way to shore, and I will do you no harm, but if you come near the boat I'll shoot you through the head ; for I am resolved to have my liberty : so he turned himself about and swam for the shore, and I made no doubt but he reached it with ease, for he was an excellent swimmer.

I could have been content to have taken this *Moor* with me, and have drowned the boy, but there was no venturing to trust him. When he was gone I turned to the boy, who they called *Xury*, and said to him, *Xury*, if you will be faithful to me I'll make you a great man, but if you will not stroke your face to be true to me, *that is, swear by Mahomet and his father's beard*, I must throw you into the sea too : the boy smiled in my face, and spoke so innocently that I could not mistrust him ; and swore to be faithful to me, and go all over the world with me.

While I was in view of the *Moor* that was swimming, I stood out directly to sea with the boat, rather stretching to windward, that they might think me gone towards the *Straits* mouth (as indeed any one that had been in their wits must have been supposed to do), for who would have supposed we were sailed on to the southward to the truly *Barbarian* coast, where whole nations of negroes were sure to surround us with their canoes, and destroy us ; where we could never once go on shore but we should

ed by savage beasts, or more merciless savages of land.

soon as it grew dusk in the evening, I changed my course, steering directly south and by east, bending my course toward the east, that I might keep in with the shore; and a fair fresh gale of wind, and a smooth quiet sea, I made land that I believe by the next day at three o'clock in the afternoon when I first made the land, I could not be less than 200 miles south of *Sallee*; quite beyond the emperor of *Morocco*'s dominions, or indeed of any other king thereabouts, for we saw

which was the fright I had taken at the *Moors*, and the apprehensions I had of falling into their hands, that I durst not stop, or go on shore, or come to an anchor. The wind being fair till I had sailed in that manner five days, the wind shifting to the southward, I concluded also that all of our vessels were in chase of me, they also would be overtaken; so I ventured to make to the coast, and came to anchor in the mouth of a little river, I knew not what, or rather what latitude, what country, what nation, or what language they spake; nor whether saw, or desired to see any people, the principal object I wanted was fresh water. We came into this creek in the evening, and resolved to swim on shore as soon as it was dark, and see the country; but as soon as it was quite dark, we heard fearful noises of the barking, roaring, and howling of wild beasts of which we knew not what kinds, that the poor boy was struck with fear, and begged of me not to go on shore till morning, Xury, said I, then I won't, but it may be we may meet with a wild beast to-morrow, who will be as bad to us as those lions. Then fire the sheet gun, says Xury, laughing; make them run away, says Xury, speaking English. Xury spoke by conversing among us slaves. I was glad to see the boy so cheerful, and I gave him a bottle of our patron's case of bottles) to cheer him up:

after all *Xury's* advice was good, and I took it ; we dropped our little anchor and lay still all night ; I say still, for we slept none ; for in two or three hours we saw vast great creatures (we knew not what to call them) of many sorts, come down to the sea-shore and run into the water, wallowing and washing themselves for the pleasure of cooling themselves ; and they made such hideous howlings and yellings, that I never indeed heard the like.

*Xury* was dreadfully frightened, and indeed so was I too ; but we were both more frightened when we heard one of these mighty creatures come swimming towards our boat : we could not see him, but we might hear him by his blowing to be a monstrous huge and furious beast. *Xury* said it was a lion, and it might be so for aught I know ; but poor *Xury* cried to me to weigh the anchor and row away. No, says I, *Xury*, we can slip our cable with a buoy to it and go off to sea, they cannot follow us far. I had no sooner said so, but I perceived the creature (what-

where to get to it was the point. Xury said, if I would go on shore with one of the jars, he would find if there water, and bring some to me. I asked him why he ? why I should not go, and he stay in the boat ? The answer with so much affection that made me love him ever says he, *If wild mans come, they eat me, you go away.* Xury, said I, we will both go, and if the wild mans come, kill them, they shall eat neither of us ; so I gave Xury of rusk-bread to eat, and a dram out of our patron's case which I mentioned before ; and we hauled the boat in as shore as we thought was proper, and waded on shore ; nothing but our arms, and two jars for water.

not care to go out of sight of the boat, fearing the of canoes with savages down the river : but the boy low place about a mile up the country rambled to it, and by I saw him come running towards me. I thought pursued by some savage, or frightened with some wild and I ran forward towards him to help him, but when I get to him, I saw something hanging over his shoulders, a creature that he had shot, like a hare, but different in and longer legs ; however we were very glad of it, and it good meat ; but the great joy that poor Xury came to tell me he had found good water, and seen no wild

found afterwards that we need not take such pains for a little higher up the creek where we were, we found a fresh when the tide was out, which flowed but a little so we filled our jars and feasted on the hare we had prepared to go on our way, having seen no foot-steps man creature in that part of the country.

had been one voyage to this coast before, I knew very the islands of the Canaries, and the Cape de Verd also, lay not far off from the coast. But as I had

no instruments to take an observation to know what latitude we were in, and did not exactly know, or at least remember, what latitude they were in, I knew not where to look for them, or when to stand off to sea towards them ; otherwise I might now easily have found some of these islands. But my hope was, that if I stood along this coast till I came to that part where the English traded, I should find some of their vessels upon their usual design of trade, that would relieve and take us in.

By the best of my calculation, that place where I now was, must be that country, which lying between the emperor of *Morocco*'s dominions and the *Negroes*, lies waste, and uninhabited, except by wild beasts, the *Negroes* having abandoned it, and gone farther south for fear of the *Moors* ; and the *Moors* not thinking it worth inhabiting, by reason of its barrenness ; and indeed both forsaking it because of the prodigious number of tigers, lions, leopards, and other furious creatures which harbour there ; so that the *Moors* use it for their hunting only, where

best go farther off the shore; for, says he, look yonder lies a dreadful monster on the side of that hillock fast asleep. I looked where he pointed, and saw a dreadful monster indeed, for it was a terrible great lion that lay on the side of the shore, under the shade of a piece of the hill that hung as it were a little over him. *Very*, says I, you shall go on shore and kill him: *Xury* looked righted, and said, *Me kill! he eat me at one mouth*; one mouthful he meant. However, I said no more to the boy, but bade him lie still; and took our biggest gun, which was almost musket-bore, and loaded it with a good charge of powder, and with two slugs, and laid it down; then I loaded another gun with two bullets, and the third, for we had three pieces, I loaded with five smaller bullets. I took the best aim I could with the first piece, to have shot him into the head, but he lay so with his leg raised a little above his nose, that the slugs hit his leg about the knee, and broke the bone. He started up growling at first, but finding his leg broke fell down again, and then got up upon three legs, and gave the most hideous roar that ever I heard. I was a little surprised that I had not hit him on the head; however, I took up the second piece immediately, and though he began to move off, fired again, and shot him into the head, and had the pleasure to see him drop, and make but little noise, but lay struggling for life. Then *Xury* took heart, and would have me let him go on shore. Well, go, said I. So the boy jumped into the water, and taking a little gun in one hand, swam to shore with the other hand, and coming close to the creature, put the muzzle of the piece to his ear, and shot him into the head again, which dispatched him quite.

This was game indeed to us, but this was no food: and I was very sorry to lose three charges of powder and shot upon a creature that was good for nothing to us. However, *Xury* said he should have some of him; so he comes on board, and asked me to give him the hatchet. For what, *Xury*? said I. Me cut off

*his head*, said he. However, *Xury* could not cut off his head, but he cut off a foot, and brought it with him, and it was a monstrous great one.

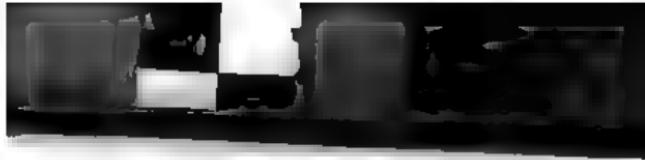
I bethought myself however, that perhaps the skin of him might one way or other be of some value to us; and I resolved to take off his skin, if I could. So *Xury* and I went to work with him; but *Xury* was much the better workman at it, for I knew very ill how to do it. Indeed it took us up both the whole day; but at last we got off the hide of him, and spreading it on the top of our cabin, the sun effectually dried it in two days time, and it afterwards served me to lie upon.

After this stop, we made on to the southward continually for ten or twelve days, living very sparing on our provisions, which began to abate very much, and going no oftener into the shore than we were obliged to for fresh water: my design in this was, to make the river *Gambia* or *Senegal*, that is to say, any where about the *Cape de Verd*, where I was in hopes to meet with some *European* ship; and if I did not, I knew not what course I had to take, but to seek for the *Islands*, or perish there among the *Negroes*. I knew that all the ships from *Europe*, which sailed either to the coast of *Guinea* or to *Brasil*, or to the *East Indies*, made this *Cape*, or those *Islands*; and, in a word, I put the whole of my fortune upon this single point, either that I must meet with some ship, or must perish.

When I had pursued this resolution about ten days longer, as I have said, I began to see that the land was inhabited; and in two or three places, as we sailed by, we saw people stand upon the shore to look at us; we could also perceive they were quite black, and stark naked. I was once inclined to have gone on shore to them; but *Xury* was my better counsellor, and said to me, *No go, no go*: however I hauled in nearer the shore that I might talk to them, and I found they ran along the shore by me a good way.. I observed they had no weapons in their hands,

except one, who had a long slender stick, which Xary said was a lance, and that they would throw them a great way with good aim. So I kept at a distance, but talked with them by signs as well as I could; and particularly made signs for something to eat: they beckoned to me to stop my boat, and they would fetch me some meat; upon this I lowered the top of my sail, and lay by, and two of them ran up into the country, and in less than half an hour came back, and brought with them two pieces of dry flesh and some corn, such as is the produce of their country; but we neither knew what the one nor the other was: however, we were willing to accept it, but how to come at it was our next dispute, for I was not for venturing on shore to them, and they were as much afraid of us; but they took a safe way for us all, for they brought it to the shore and laid it down, and went and stood a great way off till we fetched it on board, and then came close to us again.

We made signs of thanks to them, for we had nothing to make them amends; but an opportunity offered that very instant to oblige them wonderfully; for while we were lying by the shore, came two mighty creatures, one pursuing the other (as we took it) with great fury, from the mountains towards the sea: whether it was the male pursuing the female, or whether they were in sport or in rage, we could not tell, any more than we could tell whether it was usual or strange, but I believe it was the latter; because, in the first place, those ravenous creatures seldom appear but in the night; and in the second place, we found the people terribly frightened, especially the women. The man that had the lance or dart did not fly from them, but the rest did; however, as the two creatures ran directly into the water, they did not seem to offer to fall upon any of the *Negroes*, but plunged themselves into the sea, and swam about as if they had come for their diversion. At last one of them began to come nearer our boat than at first I expected, but I lay ready for him, for I had



loaded my gun with all possible expedition, and bade *Xury* load both the others. As soon as he came fairly within my reach, I fired, and shot him directly into the head. Immediately he sunk down into the water, but rose instantly, and plunged up and down as if he was struggling for life ; and so indeed he was : he immediately made to the shore, but between the wound, which was his mortal hurt, and the strangling of the water, he died just before he reached the shore.

It is impossible to express the astonishment of these poor creatures at the noise and the fire of my gun ; some of them were even ready to die for fear, and fell down as dead with the very terror. But when they saw the creature dead, and sunk in the water, and that I made signs to them to come to the shore, they took heart and came to the shore, and began to search for the creature. I found him by his blood staining the water ; and by the help of a rope, which I slung round him, and gave the *Negroes* to haul, they dragged him on shore, and found that it was a most curious leopard, spotted and fine to an admirable degree, and the *Negroes* held up their hands with admiration to think what it was I had killed him with.

The other creature, frightened with the flash of fire and the noise of the gun, swam on shore, and ran up directly to the mountains from whence they came, nor could I at that distance know what it was. I found quickly the *Negroes* were for eating the flesh of this creature, so I was willing to have them take it as a favour from me, which when I made signs to them that they might take him, they were very thankful for. Immediately they fell to work with him, and though they had no knife, yet with a sharpened piece of wood they took off his skin as readily, and much more readily, than we could have done with a knife : they offered me some of the flesh, which I declined, making as if I would give it them, but made signs for the skin, which they *gave me* very freely, and brought me a great deal more of their

provisions, which though I did not understand, yet I accepted ; then I made signs to them for some water, and held out one of my jars to them, turning it bottom upward, to shew that it was empty, and that I wanted to have it filled. They called immediately to some of their friends, and there came two women, and brought a great vessel made of earth, and burnt, as I suppose, in the sun ; this they set down for me, as before, and I sent Xary on shore with my jars, and filled them all three. The women were as stark naked as the men.

I was now furnished with roots and corn, such as it was, and water : and, leaving my friendly *Negroes*, I made forward for about eleven days more, without offering to go near the shore, till I saw the land run out a great length into the sea, at about the distance of four or five leagues before me ; and, the sea being very calm, I kept a large offing to make this point : at length, doubling the point at about two leagues from the land, I saw plainly land on the other side to seaward ; then I concluded, as it was most certain indeed, that this was the *Cape de Verd*, and those the *islands*, called from thence *Cape de Verd Islands*. However, they were at a great distance, and I could not well tell what I had best to do, for if I should be taken with a fresh of wind I might neither reach one nor the other.

In this dilemma, as I was very pensive, I stept into the cabin and set me down, Xary having the helm, when on a sudden the boy cried out, *Master, master, a ship with a sail !* and the foolish boy was frightened out of his wits, thinking it must needs be some of his master's ships sent to pursue us, when I knew we were gotten far enough out of their reach. I jumped out of the cabin, and immediately saw not only the ship, but what she was, (viz.) that it was a *Portuguese* ship, and, as I thought, was bound to the coast of *Guinea* for *Negroes*. But when I observed the course she steered, I was soon convinced they were bound some other way, and did not design to come any nearer to the shore ;

upon which I stretched out to sea as much as I could, resolving to speak with them if possible.

With all the sail I could make, I found I should not be able to come in their way, but that they would be gone by before I could make any signal to them. But after I had crowded to the utmost, and began to despair ; they, it seems, saw me by the help of their perspective-glasses, and that it was some *European* boat, which, as they supposed, must belong to some ship that was lost ; so they shortened sail to let me come up. I was encouraged with this, and as I had my patron's ancient on board, I made a waft of it to them for a signal of distress, and fired a gun, both which they saw ; for they told me they saw the smoke, though they did not hear the gun. Upon these signals they very kindly brought-to, and lay-by for me, and in about three hours time I came up with them.

They asked me what I was, in *Portuguese*, and in *Spanish*, and in *French* ; but I understood none of them ; but at last a

you will be starved there, and then I only take away that life I have given. No, no, Seignor Inglesi, says he, Mr. Englishman, I will carry you thither in charity, and those things will help you to buy your subsistence there, and your passage home again.

As he was charitable in his proposal, so he was just in the performance to a titte, for he ordered the scamen, that none should offer to touch any thing I had ; then he took every thing ~~out~~ his own possession, and gave me back an exact inventory of them, that I might have them ; even so much as my three earthen jars.

As to my boat, it was a very good one, and that he saw, and told me he would buy it of me for the ship's use, and asked me what I would have for it ? I told him, he had been so generous to me in every thing, that I could not offer to make any price of the boat, but left it entirely to him ; upon which he told me he would give me a note of his hand to pay me 80 pieces of eight for it at Brasil ; and when it came there, if any one offered to give more, he would make it up ; he offered me also 60 pieces of eight more for my boy Xury, which I was loth to take ; notwithstanding I was not willing to let the captain have him, but I was very well to sell the poor boy's liberty, who had assisted me so faithfully in procuring my own. However, when I let him know my reason, he owned it to be just, and offered me this medium, that he would give the boy an obligation to set him free in ten years, if he turned Christian. Upon this, and Xury saying he was willing to go to him, I let the captain have him.

We had a very good voyage to the Brasil, and arrived in the Bay de Todos los Santos, or All-Saints-Bay, in about twenty two days after. And now I was once more delivered from the most miserable of all conditions of life, and what to do next with myself I was now to consider.

The generous treatment the captain gave me, I can never enough remember ; he would take nothing of me for my passage,

gave me twenty ducats for the leopard's skin, and forty for the lion's skin, which I had in my boat, and caused every thing I had in the ship to be punctually delivered me ; and what I was willing to sell he bought, such as the case of bottles, two of my guns, and a piece of the lump of bees-wax, for I had made candles of the rest ; in a word, I made about 220 pieces of eight of all my cargo, and with this stock I went on shore in the *Brasil*.

I had not been long here, but being recommended to the house of a good honest man like himself, who had an *Ingenio* as they call it ; that is, a plantation and a sugar house, I lived with him some time, and acquainted myself by that means with the manner of their planting and making of sugar ; and seeing how well the planters lived, and how they grew rich suddenly, I resolved, if I could get license to settle there, I would turn planter among them, resolving in the mean time to find out some way to get my money, which I had left in *London*, remitted to me. To this purpose, getting a kind of a letter of naturalization, I pur-

great wonder: I had no remedy but to go on; I was gotten into an employment quite remote to my genius, and directly contrary to the life I delighted in, and for which I forsook my father's house, and broke through all his good advice; nay, I was coming into the very middle station, or upper degree of low life, which my father advised me to before; and which if I resolved to go on with, I might as well have staid at home, and never have fatigued myself in the world as I had done: and I used often to say to myself, I could have done this as well in *England* among my friends, as have gone five thousand miles off to do it, among strangers and savages in a wilderness, and at such distance as never to hear from any part of the world that had the least knowledge of me.

In this manner I used to look upon my condition with the utmost regret. I had nobody to converse with, but now and then this neighbour: no work to be done, but by the labour of my hands; and I used to say, I lived just like a man cast away upon some desolate island, that had nobody there but himself. But how just has it been, and how should all men reflect, that, when they compare their present conditions with others that are worse, Heaven may oblige them to make the exchange, and be convinced of their former felicity, by their experience; I say how just has it been, that the truly solitary life I reflected on in an island of mere desolation should be my lot, who had so often unjustly compared it with the life which I then led, in which, had I continued, I had in all probability been exceeding prosperous and rich.

I was in some degree settled in my measures for carrying on the plantation, before my kind friend the captain of the ship, that took me up at sea, went back; for the ship remained there, in providing his loading, and preparing for his voyage, near three months; when telling him what little stock I had left behind me in *Laura*, he gave me this friendly and sincere advice: Seignor Inglesi,

says he, (for so he always called me) if you will give me letters, and a procuration here in form to me, with orders to the person who has your money in *London*, to send your effects to *Lisbon*, to such persons as I shall direct, and in such goods as are proper for this country, I will bring you the produce of them, God willing, at my return; but since human affairs are all subject to changes and disasters, I would have you give orders but for one hundred pounds *sterling*, which you say is half your stock, and let the hazard be run for the first; so that if it come safe, you may order the rest the same way; and if it miscarry, you may have the other half to have recourse to for your supply.

This was so wholesome advice, and looked so friendly, that I could not but be convinced it was the best course I could take; so I accordingly prepared letters to the gentlewoman with whom I had left my money, and a procuration to the *Portuguese* captain, as he desired.

I wrote the *English* captain's widow a full account of all my

When this cargo arrived I thought my fortune made, for I was surprised with joy of it; and my good steward the captain had laid out the five pounds which my friend had sent him for a present for himself, to purchase, and bring me over a servant under bond for six years service, and would not accept of any consideration, except a little tobacco, which I would have him accept, being of my own produce.

Neither was this all; but my goods being all *English* manufacturers, such as cloth, stuffs, baize, and things particularly valuable and desirable in the country, I found means to sell them to a very great advantage, so that I may say I had more than four times the value of my first cargo, and was now infinitely beyond my poor neighbour, I mean in the advancement of my plantation; for the first thing I did, I bought me a negro slave, and an *European* servant also; I mean another besides that which the captain brought me from *Lisbon*.

But as abused prosperity is oftentimes made the very means of our greatest adversity, so was it with me. I went on the next year with great success in my plantation; I raised fifty great rolls of tobacco on my own ground, more than I had disposed of for necessities among my neighbours; and these fifty rolls, being each of above an hundred weight, were well cured and laid by against the return of the fleet from *Lisbon*. And now, increasing in business and in wealth, my head began to be full of projects and undertakings beyond my reach; such as are indeed often the ruin of the best heads in business.

Had I continued in the station I was now in, I had room for all the happy things to have yet befallen me, for which my father so earnestly recommended a quiet retired life, and of which he had so sensibly described the middle station of life to be full; but other things attended me, and I was still to be the wilful agent of all my own miseries; and particularly to increase my fault, and double the reflections upon myself, which in my future sorrows I should have leisure to make. All these mis-

carriages were procured by my apparent obstinate adhering to my foolish inclination of wandering abroad, and pursuing that inclination in contradiction to the clearest views of doing myself good in a fair and plain pursuit of those prospects and those measures of life, which nature and Providence concurred to present me with, and to make my duty.

As I had done thus in breaking away from my parents, so I could not be content now, but I must go and leave the happy view I had of being a rich and thriving man in my new plantation, only to pursue a rash and immoderate desire of rising faster than the nature of the thing admitted; and thus I cast myself down again into the deepest gulph of human misery that ever man fell into, or perhaps could be consistent with life and a state of health in the world.

To come then by the just degrees to the particulars of this part of my story; you may suppose, that having now lived almost four years in the *Brasils*, and beginning to thrive and prosper very well upon my plantation, I had not only learned the language, but had contracted acquaintance and friendship among my fellow planters, as well as among the merchants at St. *Salvadore*, which was our port; and that in my discourses among them, I had frequently given them an account of my two voyages to the coast of *Guinea*, the manner of trading with the *Negroes* there, and how easy it was to purchase upon the coast, for trifles, such as beads, toys, knives, scissars, hatchets, bits of glass, and the like, not only gold dust, *Guinea* grains, elephants teeth, &c. but *Negroes* for the service of the *Brasils*, in great numbers.

They listened always very attentively to my discourses on these heads, but especially to that part which related to the buying *Negroes*, which was a trade at that time not only not far entered into, but as far as it was, had been carried on by the *Assiencios*, or permission of the kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*, and engrossed

in the public, so that few *Negroes* were bought, and those excessive dear.

It happened, being in company with some merchants and planters of my acquaintance, and talking of those things very earnestly, three of them came to me the next morning, and told me they had been musing very much upon what I had discoursed with them of the last night, and they came to make a secret proposal to me; and after enjoining me secrecy, they told me that they had a mind to fit out a ship to go to *Guinea*; that they had all plantations as well as I, and were straitened for nothing so much as servants; that as it was a trade that could not be carried on, because they could not publicly sell the *Negroes* when they came home; so they desired to make but one voyage, to bring the *Negroes* on shore privately, and divide them among their own plantations; and in a word, the question was, whether I would go their supercargo in the ship, to manage the trading part upon the coast of *Guinea*; and they offered me that I should have my equal share of the *Negroes*, without providing any part of the stock.

Thus was a fair proposal, it must be confessed, had it been made to any one that had not had a settlement and plantation of his own to look after, which was in a fair way of coming to be very considerable, and with a good stock upon it. But for me, that was thus entered and established, and had nothing to do but go on as I had begun, for three or four years more, and to have sent for the other hundred pounds from *England*, and who in that time, and with that little addition, could scarce have failed of being worth three or four thousand pounds sterling, and that increasing too; for me to think of such a voyage, was the most preposterous thing that ever man in such circumstances could be guilty of.

But I, that was born to be my own destroyer, could no more resist the offer, than I could restrain my first rambling designs,

when my father's good counsel was lost upon me. In a word, I told them I would go with all my heart, if they would undertake to look after my plantation in my absence, and would dispose of it to such as I should direct if I miscarried. This they all engaged to do, and entered into writings or covenants to do so; and I made a formal will, disposing of my plantation and effects, in case of my death, making the captain of the ship that had saved my life as before, my universal heir, but obliging him to dispose of my effects as I had directed in my will, one half of the produce being to himself, and the other to be shipped to *England*.

In short, I took all possible caution to preserve my effects, and keep up my plantation; had I used half as much prudence to have looked into my own interest, and have made a judgment of what I ought to have done, and not to have done, I had certainly never gone away so from prosperous an undertaking, leaving all the probable views of a thriving circumstance, and

The same day I went on board we set sail, standing away to the northward upon our own coast, with design to stretch over for the *African* coast when they came about 10 or 12 degrees of northern latitude, which it seems was the manner of their course in those days. We had very good weather, only excessive hot, all the way upon our own coast, till we came the height of Cape St. Augustins; from whence keeping farther off at sea, we lost sight of land, and steered as if we were bound for the isle *Fernand de Noronha*, holding our course N. E. by N. and leaving those isles on the east. In this course we passed the line in about twelve days time, and were by our last observation in 7 degrees 22 min. northern latitude, when a violent tornado or hurricane took us quite out of our knowledge: it began from the south-east, came about to the north-west, and then settled into the north east, from whence it blew in such a terrible manner, that for twelve days together we could do nothing but run; and scudding away before it, let it carry us whither ever the wind and the fury of the winds directed; and during these twelve days, I need not say that I expected every day to be swallowed up, nor indeed did any in the ship expect to save their lives.

In this distress, we had, besides the terror of the storm, one of our men died of the ca.entre, and one man and the boy washed overboard. About the twelfth day, the weather abating a little, the master made an observation as well as he could, and found that he was in about 11 degrees north latitude, but that he was 22 degrees of longitude difference west from Cape St. Augustus, so that he found he was gotten upon the coast of *Guinea*, or the north part of *Brasil*, beyond the river *Amazones*, toward that of the river *Oronoque*, commonly called the *Great River*, and began to consult with me what course he should take, for the ship was leaky and very much disabled, and he was going directly back to the coast of *Brasil*.

I was positively against that; and looking over the charts of

the sea-coast of *America* with him, we concluded there was no inhabited country for us to have recourse to, till we came within the circle of the *Caribbee-islands*, and therefore resolved to stand away for *Barbadoes*, which by keeping off at sea, to avoid the indraught of the bay or gulph of *Mexico*, we might easily perform, as we hoped, in about fifteen days sail; whereas we could not possibly make our voyage to the coast of *Africa* without some assistance, both to our ship and to ourselves.

With this design we changed our course, and steered away *N. W.* by *W.* in order to reach some of our *English* islands, where I hoped for relief; but our voyage was otherwise determined; for being in the latitude of 12 deg. 18. min. a second storm came upon us, which carried us away with the same impetuosity westward, and drove us so out of the very way of all human commerce, that had all our lives been saved, as to the sea, we were rather in danger of being devoured by savages than ever returning to our own country.

In this distress, the wind still blowing very hard, one of our men early in the morning cried out, *Land!* and we had no sooner run out of the cabin to look out, in hopes of seeing whereabouts in the world we were, but the ship struck upon a sand, and in a moment, her motion being so stopped, the sea broke over her in such a manner, that we expected we should all have perished immediately; and we were immediately driven into our close quarters, to shelter us from the very foam and spray of the sea.

It is not easy for any one, who has not been in the like condition, to describe or conceive the consternation of men in such circumstances: we knew nothing where we were, or upon what land it was we were driven, whether an island or the main, whether inhabited or not inhabited; and as the rage of the wind was still great, though rather less than at first, we could not so much as hope to have the ship hold many minutes without *breaking in pieces*, unless the winds by a kind of miracle should

turn immediately about. In a word, we sat looking one upon another, and expecting death every moment, and every man acting accordingly as preparing for another world, for there was little or nothing more for us to do in this: that which was our present comfort, and all the comfort we had, was, that contrary to our expectation the ship did not break yet, and that the master said the wind began to abate.

Now though we found that the wind did a little abate, yet the ship having thus struck upon the sand, and sticking too fast for us to expect her getting off, we were in a dreadful condition indeed, and had nothing to do but to think of saving our lives as well as we could. We had a boat at our stern, just before the storm, but she was first staved by dashing against the ship's rudder, and in the next place the broke away, and either sunk or was driven off to sea, so there was no hope from her; we had another boat on board, but how to get her off into the sea was a doubtful thing: however, there was no room to debate, for we fancied the ship would break in pieces every minute, and one told us she was actually broken already.

In this distress, the mate of our vessel lays hold of the boat, and with the help of the rest of the men, they got her slung over the ship's side, and getting all into her, let go, and committed ourselves, being eleven in number, to God's mercy, and the wild sea, for though the storm was abated considerably, yet the sea was dreadful high upon the shore, and might well be called, *dear zee*, as the Dutch call the sea in a storm.

And now our case was very dismal indeed; for we all saw plainly, that the sea went so high, that the boat could not live, or that we should be inevitably drowned. As to making sail, we had none, nor, if we had, could we have done any thing with it, so we worked at the oar towards the land, though with heavy hearts, like men going to execution: for we all knew, that when our boat came nearer the shore, she would be dashed in a thousand

pieces by the breach of the sea. However, we committed our souls to God in the most earnest manner, and the wind driving us towards the shore, we hastened our destruction with our own hands, pulling as well as we could towards land.

What the shore was, whether rock or sand, whether steep or shoal, we knew not; the only hope that could rationally give us the least shadow of expectation, was, if we might happen into some bay or gulph, or the mouth of some river, where by great chance we might have run our boat in, or got under the lee of the land, and perhaps made smooth water. But there was nothing of this appeared; but as we made nearer and nearer the shore, the land looked more frightful than the sea.

After we had rowed, or rather driven about a league and a half, as we reckoned it, a raging wave, mountain-like, came rolling a-stern of us, and plainly bade us expect the *coup-de-grace*. In a word, it took us with such a fury, that it overset the boat at once; and separating us, as well from the boat as from one

upon the water, if I could : and so by swimming to preserve my breathing, and pilot myself towards the shore, if possible : my greatest concern now being that the sea, as it would carry me a great way towards the shore when it came on, might not carry me back again with it when it gave back towards the sea.

The wave that came upon me again, buried me at once 20 or 30 feet deep in its own body ; and I could feel myself carried with a mighty force and swiftness towards the shore, a very great way ; but I held my breath, and assisted myself to swim ~~as~~ forward with all my might. I was ready to burst with ~~holding~~ my breath, when, as I felt myself rising up, so, to my immediate relief, I found my head and hands shoot out above the surface of the water ; and though it was not two seconds of time that I could keep myself so, yet it relieved me greatly, gave me breath and new courage. I was covered again with water a ~~short~~ while, but not so long but I held it out ; and finding the water had spent itself, and began to return, I struck forward ~~against~~ the return of the waves, and felt ground again with my ~~feet~~. I stood still a few moments to recover breath, and till the water went from me, and then took to my heels, and ran with ~~what~~ strength I had farther towards the shore. But neither could this deliver me from the fury of the sea, which came pouring in after me again, and twice more I was lifted up by the waves and carried forwards as before, the shore being very flat.

The last time of these two had well near been fatal to me ; for the sea having hurried me along as before, landed me, or rather dashed me against a piece of a rock, and that with such force, as it left me senseless, and indeed helpless, as to my own deliverance, for the blow taking my side and breast, beat the ~~breath~~ as it were quite out of my body ; and had it not returned again immediately, I must have been strangled in the water ; but I recovered a little before the return of the waves, and seeing I could be covered again with the water, I resolved to hold fast

by a piece of the rock, and so to hold my breath, if possible, till the wave went back. Now as the waves were not so high as at first, being near land, I held my hold till the wave abated, and then fetched another run, which brought me so near the shore, that the next wave, though it went over me, yet did not so swallow me up as to carry me away ; and the next run I took I got to the main land, where, to my great comfort, I clambered up the clifts of the shore, and sat me down upon the grass, free from danger, and quite out of the reach of the water.

I was now landed, and safe on shore, and began to look up and thank God that my life was saved in a case wherein there was some minutes before scarce any room to hope. I believe it is impossible to express to the life what the ecstasies and transports of the soul are, when it is so saved, as I may say, out of the very grave ; and I do not wonder now at that custom, *viz.* that when a malefactor, who has the halter about his neck, is tied up, and just going to be turned off, and has a reprieve brought

off, and considered, Lord! how was it possible I could get on more!

After I had solaced my mind with the comfortable part of my condition, I began to look round me, to see what kind of place I was in, and what was next to be done; and I soon found my comforts abate, and that, in a word, I had a dreadful deliverance: for I was wet, had no clothes to shift me, nor any thing either to eat or drink to comfort me; neither did I see any prospect before me, but that of perishing with hunger, or being devoured by wild beasts: and that which was particularly affecting to me, was, that I had no weapon either to hunt and kill any creature for my sustenance, or to defend myself against any other creature that might desire to kill me for theirs: in a word, I had nothing about me but a knife, a tobacco-pipe, and a little tobacco in a box; this was all my provision, and this threw me into terrible agonies of mind, that for a while I ran about like a mad-man; night coming upon me, I began with a heavy heart to consider what would be my lot if there were any ravenous beasts in that country, seeing at night they always come abroad for their prey.

All the remedy that offered to my thoughts at that time, was, to get up into a thick bushy tree like a fir, but thorny, which grew near me, and where I resolved to sit all night, and consider the next day what death I should die, for as yet I saw no prospect of life. I walked about a furlong from the shore, to see if I could find any fresh water to drink, which I did, to my great joy; and having drank, and put a little tobacco in my mouth to prevent hunger, I went to the tree, and getting up into it, encouraged to place myself so, as that if I should sleep I might not fall; and having cut me a short stick, like a truncheon, for my defence, I took up my lodging, and having been exceedingly fatigued, I fell fast asleep, and slept as comfortably as I believe, few could have done in my condition, and found

myself the most refreshed with it that I think I ever was on such an occasion.

When I waked it was broad day, the weather clear, and the storm abated, so that the sea did not rage and swell as before: but that which surprised me most, was, that the ship was listed off in the night from the sand where she lay, by the swelling of the tide, and was driven up almost as far as the rock which I first mentioned, where I had been so bruised by the dashing me against it; this being within about a mile from the shore where I was, and the ship seeming to stand upright still, I wished myself on board, that, at least, I might save some necessary things for my use.

When I came down from my apartment in the tree, I looked about me again, and the first thing I found was the boat, which lay as the wind and the sea had tossed her, up upon the land, about two miles on my right hand; I walked as far as I could upon the shore to have got to her, but found a neck or inlet of

within my reach to lay hold of. I swam round her twice, and the second time I spied a small piece of a rope, which I wondered I did not see at first, hang down by the fore chains so low as that with great difficulty I got hold of it, and by the help of that rope got up into the forecastle of the ship: here I found that the ship was bulged, and had a great deal of water in her hold, but that she lay so on the side of a bank of hard sand, or rather earth, that her stern lay lifted up upon the bank, and her head low almost to the water; by this means all her quarter was free, and all that was in that part was dry; for you may be sure my first work was to search and to see what was spoiled and what was free; and first I found that all the ship's provisions were dry, and untouched by the water; and being very well disposed to eat, I went to the bread-room and filled my pockets with biscuit, and eat it as I went about other things, for I had no time to lose. I also found some rum in the great cabin, of which I took a large dram, and which I had indeed need enough of to spirit me for what was before me. Now I wanted nothing but a boat to furnish myself with many things which I foresaw would be very necessary to me.

It was in vain to sit still and wish for what was not to be had, and this extremity roused my application. We had several spare yards, and two or three large spars of wood, and a spare top mast or two in the ship; I resolved to fall to work with these, and flung as many of them overboard as I could manage for their weight, tying every one with a rope that they might not drive away; when this was done I went down the ship's side, and pulling them to me, I tied four of them fast together at both ends, as well as I could, in the form of a raft, and laying two or three short pieces of plank upon them cross-ways, I found I could walk upon it very well, but that it was not able to bear my great weight, the pieces being too light; so I went to work, and with the carpenter's saw I cut a spare top-mast into three

lengths, and added them to my raft, with a great deal of labour and pains: but hope of furnishing myself with necessaries, encouraged me to go beyond what I should have been able to have done upon another occasion.

My raft was now strong enough to bear any reasonable weight; my next care was what to load it with, and how to preserve what I laid upon it from the surf of the sea; but I was not long considering this; I first laid all the planks or boards upon it that I could get, and having considered well what I most wanted, I first got three of the seamen's chests, which I had broken open and emptied, and lowered them down upon my raft; the first of these I filled with provisions, *viz.* bread, rice, three *Dutch* cheeses, five pieces of dried goat's flesh, which we lived much upon, and a little remainder of *European* corn which had been laid by for some fowls which we brought to sea with us, but the fowls were killed; there had been some barley and wheat together, but, to my great disappointment, I found afterwards that the rye had

my raft, even whole as it was, without losing time to look into it, for I knew in general what it contained.

My next care was for some ammunition and arms: there were two very good fowling-pieces in the great cabin, and two pistols; these I secured first, with some powder-horns, and a small bag of shot, and two old rusty swords: I knew there were three barrels of powder in the ship, but knew not where our gunner had stowed them; but with much search I found them, two of them dry and good, the third had taken water: those two I got to my raft, with the arms; and now I thought myself pretty well freighted, and began to think how I should get to shore with them, having neither sail, oar, or rudder, and the least cap-full of wind would have overset all my navigation.

I had three encouragements: 1. A smooth, calm sea: 2. The tide rising and setting into the shore: 3. What little wind there was, blew me towards the land: and thus, having found two or three broken oars belonging to the boat, and besides the tools which were in the chest, I found two saws, an axe and a hammer, and with this cargo I put to sea. For a mile, or thereabouts, my raft went very well, only that I found it drive a little distant from the place where I had landed before, by which I perceived that there was some indraft of the water, and consequently I hoped to find some creek or river there, which I might make use of as a port to get to land with my cargo.

As I imagined, so it was; there appeared before me a little opening of the land, and I found a strong current of the tide set into it, so I guided my raft as well as I could to keep in the middle of the stream: but here I had like to have suffered a second shipwreck, which, if I had, I think verily would have broke my heart; for knowing nothing of the coast, my raft run a-ground at one end of it upon a shoal, and not being a-ground at the other end, it wanted but a little that all my cargo had slipped off *inwards* that end that was afloat, and so fallen into

the water. I did my utmost, by setting my back against the chests, to keep them in their places, but could not thrust off the raft with all my strength, neither durst I stir from the posture I was in; but holding up the chests with all my might, stood in that manner near half an hour, in which time the rising of the water brought me a little more upon a level; and a little after, the water still rising, my raft floated again, and I thrust her off with the oar I had, into the channel; and then driving up higher, I at length found myself in the mouth of a little river, with land on both sides, and a strong current or tide running up: I looked on both sides for a proper place to get to shore, for I was not willing to be driven too high up the river, hoping in time to see some ship at sea, and therefore resolved to place myself as near the coast as I could.

At length I spied a little cove on the right shore of the creek, to which, with great pain and difficulty, I guided my raft, and when I was near enough to get ashore, I

place for my habitation, and where to stow my goods, to secure them from whatever might happen; where I was I yet knew not; whether on the continent or on an island, whether inhabited or not inhabited, whether in danger of wild beasts or not; there was a hill not above a mile from me, which rose up very steep and high, and which seemed to over-top some other hills which lay as in a ridge from it northward; I took out one of the fowling pieces, and one of the pistols, and an horn of powder, and thus armed I travelled for discovery up to the top of that hill, where, after I had with great labour and difficulty got to the top, I saw my fate to my great affliction, viz. that I was in an island environed every way with the sea, no land to be seen, excepte some rocks which lay a great way off, and two small islands less than this, which lay about three leagues to the west.

I found also that the island I was in was barren, and, as I saw good reason to believe, uninhabited, except by wild beasts, of whom however I saw none; yet I saw abundance of fowls, but knew not their kinds, neither when I killed them could I tell what was fit for food, and what not. At my coming back, I shot at a great bird, which I saw sitting upon a tree on the side of a great wood, I believe it was the first gun that had been fired there since the creation of the world. I had no sooner fired, but from all the parts of the wood there arose an innumerable number of fowls of many sorts, making a confused screaming, and crying every one according to his usual note: but not one of them of any kind that I knew: as for the creature I killed, I took it to be a kind of hawk, its colour and beak resembling it, but had no talons or claws more than common; its flesh was carion, and fit for nothing.

Contented with this discovery, I came back to my raft, and fell to work to bring my cargo on shore, which took me up the rest of that day, and what to do with myself at night I knew not, nor indeed where to rest; for I was afraid to lie down on

the ground, not knowing but some wild beast might devour me, though, as I afterwards found, there was really no need for those fears.

However, as well as I could, I barricadoed myself round with the chests and boards that I had brought on shore, and made a kind of a hut for that night's lodging: as for food, I yet saw not which way to supply myself, except that I had seen two or three creatures, like hares, run out of the wood where I shot the fowl.

I now began to consider, that I might yet get a great many things out of the ship, which would be useful to me, and particularly some of the rigging and sails, and such other things as might come to land, and I resolved to make another voyage on board the vessel, if possible; and as I knew that the first storm that blew must necessarily break her all in pieces, I resolved to set all other things apart, till I got every thing out of the ship that I could get: then I called a council, that is to say, in my

lead ; but this last was so heavy I could not hoist it up to get it over the ship's side.

Besides these things, I took all the men's clothes that I could find, and a spare fore-top-sail, hammock, and some bedding ; and with this I loaded my second raft, and brought them all safe on shore, to my very great comfort.

I was under some apprehensions during my absence from the land, that at least my provisions might be devoured on shore ; but when I came back, I found no sign of any visitor, only there sat a creature like a wild cat upon one of the chests, which, when I came towards it, ran away a little distance, and then stood still : she sat very composed, and unconcerned, and looked full in my face, as if she had a mind to be acquainted with me ; I presented my gun at her, but as she did not understand it, she was perfectly unconcerned at it, nor did she offer to stir away : upon which I tossed her a bit of biscuit, though by the way I was not very free of it, for my store was not great : however, I spared her a bit, I say, and she went to it, smelled it, ate it, and looked, as pleased, for more : but I thanked her, and could spare no more ; so she marched off.

Having got my second cargo on shore, though I was fain to open the barrels of powder, and bring them by parcels, (for they were too heavy, being large casks,) I went to work to make me a little tent with the sail and some poles which I cut for that purpose : and into this tent I brought every thing that I knew would spoil, either with rain or sun, and I piled all the empty chests and casks up in a circle round the tent, to fortify it from my sudden attempt, either from man or beast.

When I had done this I blocked up the door of the tent with some boards within, and an empty chest set up an-end without : and spreading one of the beds upon the ground, laying my two pistols just at my head, and my gun at length by me, I went to bed for the first time, and slept very quietly all night, for I was

very weary and heavy; for the night before I had slept little, and had laboured very hard all day, as well to fetch all those things from the ship, as to get them on shore.

I had the biggest magazine of all kinds now, that ever were laid up, I believe, for one man; but I was not satisfied still; for while the ship sat upright in that posture, I thought I ought to get every thing out of her that I could: so every day at low water I went on board, and brought away something or other; but particularly the third time I went, I brought away as much of the rigging as I could, as also all the small ropes and rope wine I could get, with a piece of spare canvass, which was to mend the sails upon occasion, and the barrel of wet gun-powder: in a word, I brought away all the sails first and last, only that I was fain to cut them in pieces, and bring as much at a time as I could; for they were no more useful to be sails, but as mere canvass only.

But that which comforted me more still, was, that, last of all,

large raft, I loaded it with all those heavy goods, and came away: but my good luck began now to leave me; for this raft was so unwieldy and so overladen, that after I had entered the little cove, where I had landed the rest of my goods, not being able to guide it so handily as I did the other, it overset, and threw me and all my cargo into the water. As for myself it was no great harm, for I was near the shore; but as to my cargo, it was great part of it lost, especially the iron, which I expected would have been of great use to me: however, when the tide was out, I got most of the pieces of cable ashore; and some of the iron, though with infinite labour; for I was fain to dip for it into the water, a work which fatigued me very much. After this, I went every day on board, and brought away what I could get.

I had been now 13 days on shore, and had been 11 times on board the ship, in which time I had brought away all that one pair of hands could well be supposed capable to bring; though I believe verily, had the calm weather held, I should have brought away the whole ship, piece by piece; but preparing the 12th and to go on board, I found the wind begin to rise; however in low water I went on board, and though I thought I had rummaged the cabin so effectually, as that nothing more could be found, yet I discovered a locker with drawers in it, in one of which I found two or three razors, and one pair of large scissars, with some ten or a dozen of good knives and forks; in another I found about thirty-six pounds value in money, some European coin, some *Brasil*, some pieces of eight, some gold, some silver.

I minded to myself at the sight of this money. O Drug! said I, aloud, what art thou good for? thou art not worth to me, no not the taking off of the ground: one of those knives is worth all this heap: I have no manner of use for thee, even remain where thou art and go to the bottom, as a creature whose life is not worth saving. However, upon second thoughts, I took it away, and wrapping all this in a piece of canvass, I began to

think of making another raft; but while I was preparing this, I found the sky over-cast, and the wind began to rise, and in a quarter of an hour it blew a fresh gale from the shore. It presently occurred to me, that it was in vain to pretend to make a raft with the wind off shore, and that it was my business to be gone before the tide of flood began, otherwise I might not be able to reach the shore at all: accordingly I let myself down into the water, and swam across the channel, which lay between the ship and the sands, and even that with difficulty enough, partly with the weight of things I had about me, and partly the roughness of the water; for the wind rose very hastily, and before it was quite high water it blew a storm.

But I was gotten home to my little tent, where I lay with all my wealth about me very secure. It blew very hard all that night; and in the morning when I looked out, behold no more ship was to be seen: I was a little surprised, but recovered myself with this satisfactory reflection, *viz.* That I had lost no time,

sea, and I believed would not be wholesome, and more particularly because there was no fresh water near it; so I resolved to find a more healthy and more convenient spot of ground.

I consulted several things in my situation which I found would be proper for me: 1st, Health, and fresh water, I just now mentioned. 2dly, Shelter from the heat of the sun. 3dly, Security from ravenous creatures, whether man or beast. 4thly, A view to the sea; that if God sent any ship in sight, I might not lose any advantage for my deliverance, of which I was not willing to banish all my expectation yet.

In search of a place proper for this, I found a little plain on the side of a rising hill, whose front towards this little plain was steep as a house-side, so that nothing could come down upon me from the top; on the side of this rock there was a hollow place, worn a little way in, like the entrance or door of a cave: but there was not really any cave or way into the rock at all.

On the flat of the green, just before this hollow place, I resolved to pitch my tent: this plain was not above an hundred yards broad, and about twice as long, and lay like a green before my door, and at the end of it descended irregularly every way down into the low grounds by the sea-side. It was on the N. N. W. side of the hill, so that I was sheltered from the heat every day, till it came to a W. and by S. sun, or thereabouts, which in those countries is near the setting.

Before I set up my tent, I drew a half circle before the hollow place, which took in about ten yards in its semi diameter from the rock, and twenty yards in its diameter, from its beginning and ending.

In this half circle I pitched two rows of strong stakes, driving them into the ground till they stood very firm, like piles, the biggest end being out of the ground about five foot and a half, and sharpened on the top; the two rows did not stand above six inches from one another.

Then I took the pieces of cable which I had cut in the ship, and laid them in rows one upon another, within the circle between these two rows of stakes, up to the top, placing other stakes in the inside, leaning against them, about two foot and a half high, like a spur to a post ; and this fence was so strong, that neither man or beast could get into it or over it : this cost me a great deal of time and labour, especially to cut the piles in the woods, bring them to the place, and drive them into the earth.

The entrance into this place I made to be not by a door, but by a short ladder to go over the top ; which ladder, when I was in, I lifted over after me ; and so I was completely fenced in, and fortified, as I thought, from all the world, and consequently slept secure in the night, which otherwise I could not have done ; though, as it appeared afterward, there was no need of all this caution from the enemies that I apprehended danger from.

Into this fence or fortress, with infinite labour, I carried all my riches, all my provisions, ammunition and stores, of which

a half: and thus I made me a cave just behind my tent, which served me like a cellar to my house.

It cost me much labour, and many days, before all these things were brought to perfection, and therefore I must go back to some other things which took up some of my thoughts. At the same time it happened, after I had laid my scheme for the setting up my tent, and making the cave, that a storm of rain falling from a thick dark cloud, a sudden flash of lightning happened, and after that a great clap of thunder, as is naturally the effect of it. I was not so much surprised with the lightning, as I was with a thought which darted into my mind as swift as the lightning itself: O my powder! my very heart sunk within me, when I thought, that at one blast all my powder might be destroyed; on which, not my defence only, but the providing of food, as I thought, entirely depended: I was nothing near so anxious about my own danger, though had the powder took fire, I had never known who had hurt me.

Such impression did this make upon me, that after the storm was over, I laid aside all my works, my building, and fortifying, and applied myself to make bags and boxes to separate the powder, and to keep it a little and a little in a parcel, in hope, that whatever might come, it might not all take fire at once; and to keep it so apart, that it should not be possible to make one part hurt another. I finished this work in about a fortnight; and I think, my powder, which in all was about 240 pounds weight, was divided in not less than a hundred parcels: as to the barrel that had been wet, I did not apprehend any danger from that, so I placed it in my new cave, which in my fancy I called my kitchen; and the rest I hid up and down in holes among the rocks, so that no wet might come to it, marking very carefully where I laid it.

In the interval of time while this was doing, I went out once at least every day with my gun, as well to divert myself, as to

see if I could kill any thing fit for food, and, as near as I could, to acquaint myself with what the island produced. The first time I went out I presently discovered that there were goats in the island, which was a great satisfaction to me; but then it was attended with this misfortune to me, *viz.* that they were so shy, so subtle, and so swift of foot, that it was the most difficult thing in the world to come at them; but I was not discouraged at this, not doubting but I might now and then shoot one, as it soon happened; for after I had found their haunts a little, I laid wait in this manner for them: I observed, if they saw me in the valleys, though they were upon the rocks, they would run away as in a terrible fright; but if they were feeding in the valleys, and I was upon the rocks, they took no notice of me: from whence concluded, that by the position of their optics, their sight was so directed downward, that they did not readily see objects that were above them: so afterward I took this method: I always climbed the rocks first, to get above them, and then had

but I must first give some little account of myself, and of my thoughts about living, which it may well be supposed were not a few.

I had a dismal prospect of my condition; for as I was not cast away upon that island without being driven, as is said, by a violent storm quite out of the course of our intended voyage, and a great way, *viz.* some hundreds of leagues out of the ordinary course of the trade of mankind, I had great reason to consider it as a determination of Heaven, that in this desolate place, and in this desolate manner, I should end my life. The tears would run plentifully down my face when I made these reflections, and sometimes I would expostulate with myself, why Providence should thus completely ruin his creatures, and render them so absolutely miserable, so without help abandoned, so entirely depressed, that it could hardly be rational to be thankful for such a life.

But something always returned swift upon me to check these thoughts, and to reprove me; and particularly one day, walking with my gun in my hand by the sea-side, I was very pensive upon the subject of my present condition, when reason as it were reproached me the other way, thus: Well, you are in a desolate condition, it is true; but pray remember, where are the rest of you? Did not you come eleven of you into the boat? Where are the ten? Why were they not saved and you lost? Why were you singled out? Is it better to be here or there? and then I pointed to the sea. All evils are to be considered with the good that is in them, and with what worse attends them.

Then it occurred to me again, how well I was furnished for my subsistence, and what would have been my case if it had not reopened, which was *an hundred thousand to one*, that the ship started from the place where she first struck, and was driven so near the shore that I had time to get all these things out of her; that would have been my case if I had been to have lived in the

condition in which I at first came on shore, without necessaries of life or necessaries to supply and procure them ? Particularly, said I aloud, (though to myself) what should I have done without a gun, without ammunition, without any tools to make anything, or to work with ; without clothes, bedding, a tent, or any manner of covering : and that now I had all these to a sufficient quantity, and was in a fair way to provide myself in such a manner, as to live without my gun when my ammunition was spent ; so that I had a tolerable view of subsisting, without any want, as long as I lived ; for I considered from the beginning how I should provide for the accidents that might happen and for the time that was to come, even not only after my ammunition should be spent, but even after my health or strength should decay.

I confess I had not entertained any notion of my ammunition being destroyed at one blast, I mean my powder being blown

lived on shore here on the 30th of Sept. 1659. Upon the sides of this square post, I cut every day a notch with my knife, and my seventh notch was as long again as the rest, and every first of the month as long again as that long one: and thus I kept a calendar, or weekly, monthly, and yearly reckoning of time.

In the next place we are to observe, that among the many things which I brought out of the ship in the several voyages, which, as above mentioned, I made to it, I got several things of no value, but not all less useful to me, which I omitted setting down before: as in particular, pens, ink, and paper; several books in the captain's, mate's, gunner's, and carpenter's keeping; three or four compasses, some mathematical instruments, dials, perspectives, charts, and books of navigation; all which I huddled together, whether I might want them or no: also, I found three very good bibles which came to me in my cargo from England, and which I had packed up among my things: some Portuguese books also, and among them two or three popish prayer-books, and several other books, all which I carefully secured. And I must not forget, that we had in the ship a dog and two cats, of whose eminent history I may have occasion to say something in its place; for I carried both the cats with me; and as for the dog, he jumped out of the ship of himself, and swam on shore to me the day after I went on shore with my first cargo, and was a trusty servant to me many years; I wanted nothing that he could fetch me, nor any company that he could make up to me; I only wanted to have him talk to me, but that he could not do. As I observed before, I found pen, ink, and paper, and I fastened them to the utmost; and I shall shew, that while my ink lasted, I kept things very exact; but after that was gone, I could not; for I could not make any ink, by any means that I could devise.

And this put me in mind that I wanted many things, notwithstanding all that I had amassed together; and of these this

of ink was one, as also spade, pick-axe, and shovel, to dig or remove the earth; needles, pins, and thread; as for linen, I soon learned to want that without much difficulty.

This want of tools made every work I did go on heavily, and it was near a whole year before I had entirely finished my little pale or surrounded habitation: the piles or stakes, which were as heavy as I could well lift, were a long time in cutting and preparing in the woods, and more by far in bringing home; so that I spent sometimes two days in cutting and bringing home one of those posts, and a third day in driving it into the ground; for which purpose I got a heavy piece of wood at first, but at last bethought myself of one of the iron crows, which however, though I found it, yet it made driving those posts or piles very laborious and tedious work.

But what need I have been concerned at the tediousness of any thing I had to do, seeing I had time enough to do it in, nor had I any other employment if that had been over, at least, that I could foresee, except the ranging the island to seek for food, which I did more or less every day.

I now began to consider seriously my condition, and the circumstance I was reduced to, and I drew up the state of my affairs in writing; not so much to leave them to any that were to come after me, for I was like to have but few heirs, as to deliver my thoughts from daily poring upon them, and afflicting my mind; and as my reason began now to master my despondency, I began to comfort myself as well as I could, and to set the good against the evil, that I might have something to distinguish my case from worse; and I stated it very impartially, like debtor and creditor, the comforts I enjoyed against the miseries I suffered, thus:

## EVIL.

## GOOD.

*I am cast upon a horrible desolate island, void of all hope of recovery.*      *But I am alive, and not drowned, as all my ship's company was.*

EVIL.

*I am singled out and separated, as it were, from all the world, to be miserable.*

*But I am singled out too from all the ship's crew to be spared from death; and He that miraculously saved me from death, can deliver me from this condition.*

*I am divided from mankind, a militaire, one banished from human society.*

*But I am not starved and perishing on a barren place, affording no sustenance.*

*I have not clothes to cover me.*

*But I am in a hot climate where if I had clothes I could hardly wear them.*

*I am without any defence or means to resist any violence of man or beast.*

*But I am cast on an island, where I see no wild beasts to hurt me, as I saw on the coast of Africa; and what if I had been shipwrecked there?*

*I have no soul to speak to, or relieve me.*

*But God wonderfully sent the ship in near enough to the shore, that I have gotten out so many necessary things as will either supply my wants, or enable me to supply myself even as long as I live.*

Upon the whole, here was an undoubted testimony, that there was scarce any condition in the world so miserable, but there was something negative or something positive to be thankful for in

it; and let this stand as a direction from the experience of the most miserable of all conditions in this world, that we may always find in it something to comfort ourselves from, and to set, in the description of good and evil, on the credit side of the account.

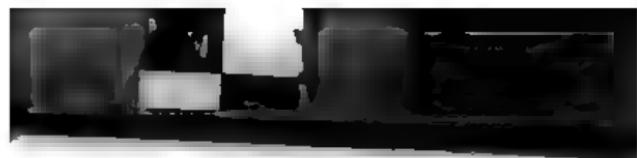
Having now brought my mind a little to relish my condition, and given over looking out to sea, to see if I could spy a ship; I say, giving over these things, I began to apply myself to accommodate my way of living, and to make things as easy to me as I could.

I have already described my habitation, which was a tent under the side of a rock, surrounded with a strong pale of posts and cables, but I might now rather call it a wall, for I raised a kind of wall up against it of turfs, about two feet thick on the outside, and after some time, I think it was a year and a half, I raised rafters from it, leaning to the rock, and thatched or covered it with boughs of trees, and such things as I could get to keep out

things as I found I most wanted, as particularly a chair and a table; for without these I was not able to enjoy the few comforts I had in the world; I could not write or eat, or do several things with so much pleasure without a table.

So I went to work; and here I must needs observe, that as reason is the substance and original of the mathematics, so by setting and squaring every thing by reason, and by making the most rational judgment of things, every man may be in time master of every mechanic art. I had never handled a tool in my life, and yet in time by labour, application, and contrivance, I found at last that I wanted nothing but I could have made it, especially if I had had tools, however I made abundance of things, even without tools, and some with no more tools than an adze and a hatchet, which perhaps were never made that way before, and that with infinite labour; for example, if I wanted a board, I had no other way but to cut down a tree, set it on an edge before me, and hew it flat on either side with my axe, till I had brought it to be as thin as a plank, and then rub it smooth with my adze. It is true, by this method I could make but one board out of a whole tree, but this I had no remedy for but patience, any more than I had for the prodigious deal of time and labour which it took me up to make a plank or board: but my time or labour was little worth, and so it was as well employed one way as another.

However, I made me a table and a chair, as I observed above, in the first place, and this I did out of the short pieces of boards which I brought on my raft from the ship: but when I had wrought out some boards, as above, I made large shelves, of the breadth of a foot and a half one over another, all along one side of my cave, to lay all my tools, nails, and iron-work, and in a stand, to separate every thing at large in their places, that I might come easily at them. I knocked pieces into the wall of the rock to hang my guns and all things that would hang up.



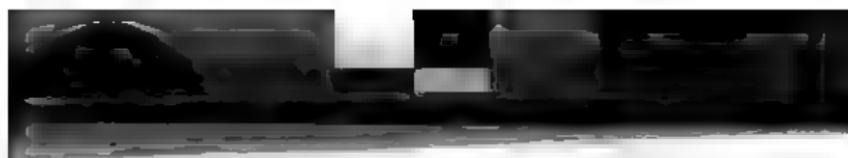
So that had my cave been to be seen, it looked like a general magazine of all necessary things; and I had every thing so ready at my hand, that it was a great pleasure to me to see all my goods in such order, and especially to find my stock of all necessaries so great.

And now it was that I began to keep a journal of every day's employment; for indeed at first I was in too much hurry; and not only hurry as to labour, but in too much discomposure of mind, and my journal would have been full of many dull things. For example, I must have said thus: Sept. the 30th, after I got to shore, and had escaped drowning, instead of being thankful to God for my deliverance, having first vomited with the great quantity of salt water which was gotten into my stomach, and recovering myself a little, I ran about the shore, wringing my hands, and beating my head and face, exclaiming at my misery, and crying out, I was undone, undone; till, tired and faint, I was forced to lie down on the ground to repose, but durst not sleep for fear of being devoured.

Some days after this, and after I had been on board the ship, and got all that I could out of her, yet I could not forbear getting up to the top of a little mountain, and looking out to sea in hopes of seeing a ship; then fancy at a vast distance I spied a sail; please myself with the hopes of it; and then, after looking steadily till I was almost blind, lose it quite, and sit down and weep like a child, and thus increase my misery by my folly.

But having gotten over these things in some measure, and having settled my household-stuff and habitation, made me a table and a chair, and all as handsome about me as I could, I began to keep my journal, of which I shall here give you the copy (though in it will be told all these particulars over again) as long as it lasted; for having no more ink, I was forced to leave it off.





## THE JOURNAL.

Sept. 30, 1659.

I took miserable *Robinson Crusoe*, being shipwrecked, during a dreadful storm, in the offing, came on shore on this dismal unfortunate island, which I called the *Island of Despair*, all the rest of the ship's company being drowned, and myself almost dead.

All the rest of that day I spent in afflicting myself, at the dismal circumstances I was brought to, viz. I had neither food, house, clothes, weapon, or place to fly to, and in despair of any relief, saw nothing but death before me, either that I should be devoured by wild beasts, murdered by savages, or starved to death for want of food. At the approach of night I slept in a tree, for fear of wild creatures, but slept soundly though it rained all night.

October 1. In the morning I saw to my great surprise, the ship had floated with the high tide, and was driven on shore again much nearer the island, which as it was some comfort on one hand, for seeing her sit upright, and not broken to pieces, I hoped, if the wind abated, I might get on board, and get some food or necessaries out of her for my relief; so, on the other hand, it renewed my grief at the loss of my comrades, who I imagined if we had all staid on board might have saved the ship, or at least that they would not have been all drowned, as they were; and that, had the men been saved, we might perhaps have built us a boat out of the ruins of the ship, to have carried us to some safer part of the world. I spent great part of this day in perplexing myself on these things; but at length, seeing the ship almost dry, I went upon the sand as near as I could, and then

swam on board ; this day also it continued raining, though with no wind at all.

From the 1st of *October* to the 24th. All these days entirely spent in making several voyages to get all I could out of the ship, which I brought on shore, every tide of flood, upon rafts. Much rain also in these days, though with some intervals of fair weather : but, it seems, this was the rainy season.

*Oct. 20.* I overset my raft, and all the goods I had got upon it ; but being in shoal water, and the things being chiefly heavy, I recovered many of them when the tide was out.

*Oct. 25.* It rained all night and all day, with some gusts of wind, during which time the ship broke in pieces, the wind blowing a little harder than before, and was no more to be seen, except the wreck of her, and that only at low water. I spent this day in covering and securing the goods which I had saved, that the rain might not spoil them.

*Oct. 26.* I walked about the shore almost all day, to find out

Nov. 2. I set up all my chests and boards, and the pieces of timber which made my rafts, and with them formed a fence round me, a little within the place I had marked out for my fortification.

Nov. 3. I went out with my gun, and killed two fowls like ducks, which were very good food. In the afternoon went to work to make me a table.

Nov. 4. This morning I began to order my times of work, of going out with my gun, time of sleep, and time of diversion; viz. every morning I walked out with my gun for two or three hours, if it did not rain, then employed myself to work till about eleven o'clock, then eat what I had to live on, and from twelve to two I lay down to sleep, the weather being excessive hot, and then in the evening to work again: the working part of this day, and of the next, were wholly employed in making my table, for I was yet but a very sorry workman, though time and necessity made me a complete natural mechanic soon after, as I believe it would do any one else.

Nov. 5. This day went abroad with my gun and my dog, and killed a wild cat, her skin pretty soft, but her flesh good for nothing: every creature I killed I took off the skins and preserved them. Coming back by the sea-shore I saw many sorts of sea-fowls, which I did not understand; but was surprised and almost frightened with two or three seals, which, while I was gazing at, not well knowing what they were, got into the sea, and escaped me for that time.

Nov. 6. After my morning walk I went to work with my table again, and finished it, though not to my liking: nor was it long before I learned to mend it.

Nov. 7. Now it began to be settled fair weather. The 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and part of the 12th (for the 11th was Sunday) I took wholly up to make me a chair, and with much ado brought it to a tolerable shape, but never to please me; and even in the making I pulled it in pieces several times. Note, 1

soon neglected my keeping Sundays, for omitting my mark for them on my post, I forgot which was which.

*Nov. 13.* This day it rained, which refreshed me exceedingly, and cooled the earth, but it was accompanied with terrible thunder and lightning, which frightened me dreadfully for fear of my powder: as soon as it was over I resolved to separate my stock of powder into as many little parcels as possible, that it might not be in danger.

*Nov. 14, 15, 16.* These three days I spent in making little square chests or boxes, which might hold about a pound, or two pounds, at most, of powder; and so putting the powder in, I stowed it in places as secure and remote from one another as possible. On one of these three days I killed a large bird that was good to eat, but I know not what to call it.

*Nov. 17.* This day I began to dig behind my tent into the rock, to make room for my farther conveniency. *Note*, three things I wanted exceedingly for this work, *viz.* a pick-axe, a

broad part having no iron shod upon it at bottom, it would not last me so long; however it served well enough for the uses which I had occasion to put it to; but never was a shovel, I believe, made after that fashion, or so long a making.

I was still deficient, for I wanted a basket or a wheel-barrow: a basket I could not make by any means, having no such things as twigs that would bend to make wicker ware, at least none yet found out; and as to a wheel-barrow, I fancied I could make all but the wheel, but that I had no notion of, neither did I know how to go about it; besides, I had no possible way to make the iron gudgeons for the spindle or axis of the wheel to run in, so I gave it over; and so for carrying away the earth which I dug out of the cave, I made me a thing like a hod which the labourers carry mortar in, when they serve the bricklayers.

This was not so difficult to me as the making the shovel; and yet this, and the shovel, and the attempt which I made in vain to make a wheel-barrow, took me up no less than four days, I mean always excepting my morning walk with my gun, which I seldom failed; and very seldom failed also bringing home something to eat.

Nov. 23. My other work having now stood still, because of my making these tools, when they were finished I went on, and working every day, as my strength and time allowed, I spent eighteen days entirely in widening and deepening my cave, that it might hold my goods commodiously.

*Note.* During all this time, I worked to make this room or cave spacious enough to accommodate me as a warehouse or magazine, a kitchen, a dining-room, and a cellar; as for my lodging, I kept to the tent, except that sometimes in the wet season of the year, it rained so hard that I could not keep myself dry, which caused me afterwards to cover all my place within my side with long poles in the form of rafters, leaning against the rock, and load them with bogs and large leaves of trees like a thatch.

*December 10.* I began now to think my cave or vault finished, when on a sudden (it seems I had made it too large) a great quantity of earth fell down from the top and one side, so much that in short it frightened me, and not without reason too; for if I had been under it I had never wanted a grave-digger: upon this disaster I had a great deal of work to do over again; for I had the loose earth to carry out, and, which was of more importance, I had the ceiling to prop up, so that I might be sure no more would come down.

*Dec. 11.* This day I went to work with it accordingly, and got two shores or posts pitched upright to the top, with two pieces of boards across over each post; this I finished the next day; and setting more posts up with boards, in about a week more I had the roof secured; and the posts, standing in rows, served me for partitions to part off my house.

*Dec. 17.* From this day to the twentieth I placed shelves, and knocked up nails on the posts to hang every thing up that could

was the first time that I entertained a thought of breeding up some tame creatures, that I might have food when my powder and shot was all spent.

Dec. 28, 29, 30. Great heats and no breeze; so that there was no stirring abroad, except in the evening for food: this time I spent in putting all my things in order within doors.

January 1. Very hot still, but I went abroad early and late with my gun, and lay still in the middle of the day. This evening, going farther into the valleys, which lay towards the centre of the island, I found there was plenty of goats, though exceeding shy and hard to come at; however I resolved to try if I could not bring my dog to hunt them down.

Jan. 2. According y, the next day, I went out with my dog, and set him upon the goats; but I was mistaken, for they all fled about upon the dog; and he knew his danger too well; for he would not come near them.

Jan. 3. I began my fence or wall; which, being still jealous of my being attacked by somebody, I resolved to make very thick and strong.

N. B. This wall being described before, I purposely omit what was said in the Journal; it is sufficient to observe, that I was no less time than from the 3d of January to the 14th of April, working, finishing, and perfecting this wall, though it was no more than about 24 yards in length, being a half circle from one place in the rock to another place about eight yards from it, the door of the cave being in the centre behind it.

All this time I worked very hard, the rains hindering me many days, nay, sometimes weeks together; but I thought I should never be perfectly secure until this wall was finished; and it is scarce credible what inexpressible labour every thing was done with, especially the bringing piles out of the woods, and

driving them into the ground, for I made them much bigger than I need to have done.

When this wall was finished, and the outside double fenced with a turf wall raised up close to it, I persuaded myself that if any people were to come on shore there, they would not perceive any thing like a habitation ; and it was very well I did so, as may be observed hereafter upon a very remarkable occasion.

During this time I made my rounds in the woods for game every day, when the rain admitted me, and made frequent discoveries in these walks of something or other to my advantage ; particularly I found a kind of wild pigeons, who built not as wood pigeons, in a tree, but rather as house pigeons, in the holes of the rocks ; and taking some young ones, I endeavoured to breed them up tame, and did so ; but when they grew older they flew away, which perhaps was at first for want of feeding them, for I had nothing to give them ; however I frequently found their nests, and got their young ones, which were very good

clay, which I baked in the sun, to which I added a wick of some oakum, I made me a lamp; and this gave me light, though not a clear steady light like a candle. In the middle of all my labours it happened, that rummaging my things, I found a little bag, which, as I hinted before, had been filled with corn for the feeding of poultry—not for this voyage, but before, as I suppose, when the ship came from *Lisbon*: what little remainder of corn had been in the bag, was all devoured with the rats, and I saw nothing in the bag but husks and dust; and being willing to have the bag for some other use, I think it was to put powder in, when I divided it for fear of the lightning, or some such use, I shook the husks of corn out of it on one side of my fortification under the rock.

It was a little before the great rains, just now mentioned, that I threw this stuff away, taking no notice of any thing, and not so much as remembering that I had thrown any thing there; when about a month after, or thereabout, I saw some few stalks of something green shooting out of the ground, which I fancied might be some plant I had not seen; but I was surprised and greatly astonished, when after a little longer time I saw about ten or twelve ears come out, which were perfect green barley of the same kind as our European, nay, as our English barley.

It is impossible to express the astonishment and confusion of my thoughts on this occasion; I had hitherto acted upon no religious foundation at all; indeed I had very few notions of religion in my head, or had entertained any sense of any thing that had befallen me, otherwise than as a chance, or, as we might say, what pleases God; without so much as inquiring into the end of Providence in these things, or his order in governing events in the world; but after I saw barley grow there, in a climate which I knew was not proper for corn, and especially that I knew not how it came there, it startled me strangely; and I began to suggest, that God had miraculously

caused this grain to grow without any help of seed sown, and that it was so directed purely for my sustenance on that wild miserable place.

This touched my heart a little, and brought tears out of my eyes, and I began to bless myself, that such a prodigy of nature should happen upon my account; and this was the more strange to me, because I saw near it still, all along by the side of the rock, some other straggling stalks, which proved to be stalks of rice, and which I knew, because I had seen it grow in *Africa*, when I was ashore there.

I not only thought these the pure productions of Providence for my support, but not doubting but that there was more in the place, I went all over that part of the island, where I had been before, peeping in every corner and under every rock to see for more of it, but I could not find any; at last it occurred to my thought, that I had shook a bag of chickens meat out in that place, and then the wonder began to escape; and I must confess

this corn to eat, and even then but sparingly, as I shall say afterwards in its order ; for I lost all that I sowed the first season, by not observing the proper time ; for I sowed it just before the dry season, so that it never came up at all, at least not as it would have done : of which in its place.

Besides this barley, there were, as above, twenty or thirty stalks of rice, which I preserved with the same care, and whose use was of the same kind or to the same purpose, *viz.* To make me bread, or rather food : for I found ways to cook it up without baking, though I did that also after some time. But to return to my journal.

I worked excessive hard these three or four months to get my wall done ; and the 14th of April I closed it up, contriving to go into it, not by a door, but over the wall by a ladder, that there might be no sign in the outside of my habitation.

April 16. I finished the ladder, so I went up with the ladder to the top, and then pulled it up after me, and let it down on the inside : this was a complete enclosure to me : for within I had room enough, and nothing could come at me from without, unless it could first mount my wall.

The very next day after this wall was finished, I had almost had all my labour overthrown at once, and myself killed ; the case was thus : As I was busy in the inside of it, behind my tent, just in the entrance into my cave, I was terribly frightened with a most dreadful surprising thing indeed ; for on a sudden I found the earth come crumbling down from the roof of my cave, and from the edge of the hill, over my head, and two of the posts I had set up in the cave cracked in a frightful manner : I was heartily scared, but thought nothing of what was really the cause, only thinking that the top of my cave was failing in, as some of it had done before : and for fear I should be buried in it, I ran forward to my ladder ; and noe thinking myself safe there neither, I got over my wall for fear of the pieces of the hill which I ex-

pected might roll down upon me: I was no sooner stepped down upon the firm ground, but I plainly saw it was a terrible earthquake, for the ground I stood on shook three times at about eight minutes distance, with three such shocks as would have overturned the strongest building that could be supposed to have stood on the earth; and a great piece of the top of a rock, which stood about half a mile from me next the sea, fell down with such a terrible noise as I never heard in all my life: I perceived also the very sea was put into violent motion by it; and I believe the shocks were stronger under the water than on the island.

I was so amazed with the thing itself, having never felt the like, or discoursed with any one that had, that I was like one dead or stupified; and the motion of the earth made my stomach sick, like one that was tossed at sea; but the noise of the falling of the rock awaked me, as it were, and rousing me from the stupified condition I was in, filled me with horror, and I thought of nothing then but the hill falling upon my tent, and all my household goods, and burying all at once; and this sunk my very soul within me a second time.

After the third shock was over, and I felt no more for some time, I began to take courage, and yet I had not heart enough to get over my wall again, for fear of being buried alive, but sat still upon the ground, greatly cast down and disconsolate, not knowing what to do: all this while I had not the least serious religious thought, nothing but the common, Lord, have mercy upon me; and when it was over, that went away too.

While I sat thus, I found the air overcast, and grow cloudy, as if it would rain; soon after that the wind rose by little and little, so that in less than half an hour it blew a most dreadful hurricane: the sea was all on a sudden covered over with foam and froth, the shore was covered with the breach of the water, the trees were torn up by the roots, and a terrible storm it was;

and this held about three hours, and then began to abate, and in two hours more it was stark calm, and began to rain very hard.

All this while I sat upon the ground, very much terrified and dejected, when on a sudden it came into my thoughts, that these winds and rain being the consequences of the earthquake, the earthquake itself was spent and over, and I might venture into my cave again: with this thought my spirits began to revive, and the rain also helping to persuade me, I went in and sat down in my tent, but the rain was so violent, that my tent was ready to be beaten down with it; and I was forced to go into my cave, though very much afraid and uneasy, for fear it should fall on my head.

This violent rain forced me to a new work, viz. to cut a hole through my new fortification like a sink to let water go out, which would else have drowned my cave. After I had been in my cave some time, and found still no more shocks of the earthquake follow, I began to be more composed; and now, to support my spirits, which indeed wanted it very much, I went to my little store, and took a small sup of rum, which however I did then, and always, very sparingly, knowing I could have no more when that was gone.

It continued raining all that night, and great part of the next day, so that I could not stir abroad; but my mind being more composed, I began to think of what I had best do, concluding, that if the island was subject to these earthquakes, there would be no living for me in a cave, but I must consider of building me some little hut in an open place, which I might surround with a wall as I had done here, and so make myself secure from wild beasts or men: but concluded if I staid where I was, I should certainly, one time or other, be buried alive.

With these thoughts I resolved to remove my tent from the place where it stood, which was just under the hanging precipice of the hill, and which, if it should be shaken again, would cer-

tainly fall upon my tent: and I spent the next two days, being the 19th and 20th of *April*, in contriving where and how to remove my habitation.

The fear of being swallowed up alive, made me that I never slept in quiet: and yet the apprehension of lying abroad, without any fence, was almost equal to it; but still, when I looked about and saw how every thing was put in order, how pleasantly concealed I was, and how safe from danger, it made me very loth to remove.

In the mean time it occurred to me that it would require a vast deal of time for me to do this, and that I must be contented to run the venture where I was, till I had formed a camp for myself, and had secured it so as to remove to it; so with this resolution I composed myself for a time, and resolved that I would go to work with all speed to build me a wall with piles and cables, &c. in a circle as before; and set my tent up in it when it was finished, but that I would venture to stay where I

April 28, 29. These two whole days I took up in grinding my tools, my machine for turning my grind stone performing very well.

April 30. Having perceived my bread had been low a great while, now I took a survey of it, and reduced myself to one biscuit cake a day, which made my heart very heavy.

May 1. In the morning, looking towards the sea-side, the tide being low, I saw something lie on the shore bigger than ordinary, and it looked like a cask. When I came to it, I found a small barrel, and two or three pieces of the wreck of the ship, which were driven on shore by the late hurricane; and looking towards the wreck itself, I thought it seemed to lie higher out of the water than it used to do: I examined the barrel which was driven on shore, and soon found it was a barrel of gunpowder, but it had taken water, and the powder was caked as hard as a stone; however I rolled it farther on shore for the present, and went on upon the sands as near as I could to the wreck of the ship, to look for more.

When I came down to the ship, I found it strangely removed: the fore-castle, which lay before buried in sand, was heaved up a least six foot; and the stern, which was broke to pieces and parted from the rest by the force of the sea, soon after I had left remmaging her, was tossed, as it were, up, and cast on one side, and the sand was thrown so high on that side next her stern, that whereas there was a great p:ace of water before, so that I could not come within a quarter of a mile of the wreck without swimming, I could now walk quite up to her when the tide was out. I was surprised with this at first, but soon concluded it must be done by the earthquake: and as by this violence the ship was more broken open than formerly, so many things came daily on shore, which the sea had loosened, and which the winds and water rolled by degrees to the land.

This wholly diverted my thoughts from the design of removing

my habitation; and I busied myself mightily that day especially, in searching whether I could make any way into the ship; but I found nothing was to be expected of that kind, for that all the inside of the ship was choked up with sand: however, as I had carnt not to despair of any thing, I resolved to pull every thing to pieces that I could of the ship, concluding, that every thing I could get from her would be of some use or other to me.

*May 3.* I began with my saw, and cut a piece of a beam through, which I thought held some of the upper part or quarter deck together; and when I had cut it through, I cleared away the sand as well as I could from the side which lay highest; but the tide coming in, I was obliged to give over for that time.

*May 4.* I went a fishing, but caught not one fish that I durst eat of, till I was weary of my sport; when just going to leave off, I caught a young dolphin. I had made me a long line of some rope yarn, but I had no hooks, yet I frequently caught fish enough, as much as I cared to eat: all which I dried in the sun.

also with the tide: I left the iron crow in the wreck for next day.

May 9. Went to the wreck, and with the crow made way into the body of the wreck, and felt several casks, and loosened them with the crow, but could not break them up: I felt also the roll of *English* lead, and could stir it, but it was too heavy to remove.

May 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. Went every day to the wreck, and got a great many pieces of timber, and boards, or plank, and two or three hundred weight of iron.

May 15. I carried two hatchets, to try if I could not cut a piece off the roll of lead, by placing the edge of one hatchet, and driving it with the other; but as it lay about a foot and a half in the water, I could not make any blow to drive the hatchet.

May 16. It had blowed hard in the night, and the wreck appeared more broken by the force of the water; but I staid so long in the woods to get pigeons for food, that the tide prevented me going to the wreck that day.

May 17. I saw some pieces of the wreck blown on shore, at a great distance, near two miles off me, but resolved to see what they were, and found it was a piece of the head, but too heavy for me to bring away.

May 24. Every day to this day I worked on the wreck, and with hard labour I loosened some things so much with the crow, that the first blowing tide several casks floated out, and two of the seamen's chests; but the wind blowing from the shore, nothing came to land that day but pieces of timber, and a hogshead, which had some *Brazil* pork in it, but the salt water and sand had spoiled it.

I continued this work every day to the 15th of June, except the time necessary to get food, which I always appointed, during this part of my employment, to be when the tide was up, that I might be ready when it was ebbed out; and by this time I had

gotten timber, and plank, and iron-work enough to have built a good boat, if I had known how; and also, I got at several times, and in several pieces, near 100 weight of the sheet-lead.

*June 16.* Going down to the sea side, I found a large tortoise or turtle; this was the first I had seen, which it seems was only my misfortune, not any defect of the place, or scarcity; for had I happened to be on the other side of the island, I might have had hundreds of them every day; as I found afterwards; but perhaps had paid dear enough for them.

*June 17* I spent in cooking the turtle; I found in her three-score eggs; and her flesh was to me at that time the most savoury and pleasant that ever I tasted in my life, having had no flesh, but of goats and fowls, since I landed in this horrid place.

*June 18.* Rained all day, and I stayed within. I thought at this time the rain felt cold, and I was something chilly, which I knew was not usual in that latitude.

gen, but found myself very weak ; however I killed a she goat, and with much difficulty got it home, and broiled some of it, and eat ; I would fain have stewed it, and made some broth, but had no pot.

JUNE 27. The ague again so violent, that I lay a bed all day, and neither eat or drank. I was ready to perish for thirst, but so weak I had not strength to stand up, or to get myself any water to drink : prayed to God again, but was light-headed ; and when I was not, I was so ignorant that I knew not what to say, only I lay and cried, *Lord, look upon me ; Lord, pity me ; Lord, have mercy upon me :* I suppose I did nothing else for two or three hours, till the fit wearing off, I fell asleep, and did not wake till far in the night ; when I waked I found myself much refreshed, but weak and exceeding thirsty : however, as I had no water in my whole habitation, I was forced to lie till morning, and went to sleep again. In this second sleep I had this terrible dream.

I thought that I was sitting on the ground on the outside of my wail, where I sat when the storm blew after the earthquake, and that I saw a man descend from a great black cloud, in a bright flame of fire, and alight upon the ground. He was all over as bright as a flame, so that I could but just bear to look towards him ; his countenance was most inexpressibly dreadful, impossible for words to describe ; when he stepped upon the ground with his feet I thought the earth trembled just as it had done before in the earthquake, and all the air looked to my apprehension as if it had been filled with flashes of fire.

He was no sooner landed upon the earth, but he moved forward towards me, with a long spear or weapon in his hand to kill me ; and when he came to a rising ground, at some distance, he spoke to me, or I heard a voice so terrible, that it is impossible to express the terror of it ; all that I can say I understood was this, ' Seeing all these things have not brought thee to repent-

## LIFE AND ADVENTURES

*Once, now thou shalt die;*" at which words I thought he lifted up the spear that was in his hand to kill me.

No one, that shall ever read this account, will expect that I should be able to describe the horrors of my soul at this terrible vision; I mean, that even while it was a dream, I even dreamed of those horrors; nor is it any more possible to describe the impression that remained upon my mind, when I awaked, and found it was but a dream.

I had, alas! no divine knowledge; what I had received by the good instruction of my father was then worn out by an uninterrupted series, for eight years, of sea-faring wickedness, and a constant conversation with nothing but such as were like myself, wicked and profane to the last degree: I do not remember that I had in all that time one thought that so much as tended either to looking upwards towards God, or inwards towards a reflection upon my own ways: but a certain stupidity of soul, without desire of good, or conscience of evil, had entirely over-

like a mere brute from the principles of Nature, and by the dictates of common sense only, and indeed hardly that.

When I was delivered, and taken up at sea by the Portugal captain, well used, and dealt justly and honourably with, as well as charitably, I had not the least thankfulness on my thoughts: when again I was shipwrecked, ruined, and in danger of drowning on this island, I was as far from remorse, or looking on it as a judgment; I only said to myself often, that I was an unfortunate dog, and born to be always miserable. ←

It is true, when I got on shore first here, and found all my ship's crew drowned, and myself spared, I was surprised with a kind of ecstasy, and some transports of soul, which, had the grace of God assisted, might have come up to true thankfulness; but it ended where it begun, in a mere common flight of joy, or, as I may say, *being glad I was alive*, without the least reflection upon the distinguishing goodness of the hand which had preserved me, and had singled me out to be preserved, when all the rest were destroyed; or an inquiry why providence had been so merciful to me; even just the same common sort of joy which seamen generally have, after they have got safe on shore from a shipwreck, which they drown all in the next bowl of punch, and forget, almost as soon as it is over; and all the rest of my life was like it.

Even when I was afterwards, on due consideration, made sensible of my condition; how I was cast on this dreadful place, out of the reach of human kind, out of all hope of relief, or prospect of redemption; as soon as I saw but a prospect of living, and that I should not starve and perish for hunger, all the sense of my affliction wore off, and I began to be very easy, applied myself to the works proper for my preservation and supply, and was far enough from being afflicted at my condition, as a judgment from heaven, or as the hand of God against me: these were thoughts which very seldom entered into my head.

The growing up of the corn, as is hinted in my journal, had

at first some little influence upon me, and began to affect me with seriousness, as long as I thought it had something miraculous in it; but as soon as ever that part of thought was removed, all the impression which was raised from it wore off also, as I have noted already.

Even the earthquake, though nothing could be more terrible in its nature, or more immediately directing to the invisible power, which alone directs such things; yet no sooner was the first fright over, but the impression it had made went off also; I had no more sense of God, or his judgments, much less of the present affliction of my circumstances being from his hand, than if I had been in the most prosperous condition of life.

But now, when I began to be sick, and a leisurely view of the miseries of death came to place itself before me; when my spirits began to sink under the burden of a strong distemper, and nature was exhausted with the violence of the fever; conscience, that had slept so long, began to awake, and I began to reproach my-

In this interval the good advice of my father came to my mind, and presently his prediction, which I mentioned in the beginning of this story ; *viz. That if I did take this foolish step, God would not bless me, and I would have leisure hereafter to reflect upon having neglected his counsel, when there might be none to assist in my recovery.* Now, said I aloud, my dear father's words are come to pass : God's justice has overtaken me, and I have none to help or hear me ; I rejected the voice of Providence, which had mercifully put me in a posture or station of life wherein I might have been happy and easy ; but I would neither see it myself, nor learn to know the blessing of it from my parents ; I left them to mourn over my folly, and now I am left to mourn under the consequences of it ; I refused their help and assistance, who would have lifted me into the world, and would have made every thing easy to me ; and now I have difficulties to struggle with, too great for even nature itself to support, and no assistance, no help, no comfort, no advice. Then I cried out, *Lord, to my help, for I am in great distress !*

This was the first prayer, if I may call it so, that I had made for many years. But I return to my journal. &c. - -

June 28. Having been somewhat refreshed with the sleep I had had, and the fit being entirely off, I got up ; and though the fight and terror of my dream was very great, yet I considered, that the fit of the ague would return again the next day, and now was my time to get something to refresh and support myself when I should be ill ; and the first thing I did, I filled a large square case bottle with water, and set it upon my table, in reach of my bed ; and to take off the chill or aguish disposition of the water, I put about a quarter of a pint of rum into it, and mixed them together : then I got me a piece of the goat's flesh, and broiled it on the coals, but could eat very little. I walked about, but was very weak, and, withal, very sad and heavy-hearted under a sense of my miserable condition, dreading the

return of my distemper the next day : at night I made my supper of three of the turtle's eggs, which I roasted in the ashes, and eat, as we call it, in the shell ; and this was the first bit of meat I had ever asked God's blessing to, even, as I could remember, in my whole life.

After I had eaten I tried to walk ; but found myself so weak, that I could hardly carry the gun (for I never went out without that) ; so I went but a little way, and sat down upon the ground, looking out upon the sea, which was just before me, and very calm and smooth. As I sat here, some such thoughts as these occurred to me :

What is the earth and sea, of which I have seen so much ? Whence is it produced ? And what am I, and all the other creatures, wild and tame, human and brutal ; whence are we ?

Sure we are all made by some secret power, who formed the earth and sea, the air and sky ; and who is that ?

Then it followed, most naturally : it is God that has made it

*Why has God done this to me? What have I done to be thus used?*

My conscience presently checked me in that inquiry, as if I had blasphemed; and methought it spoke to me, like a voice; *Wretch! dost thou ask what thou hast done? Look back upon a credulitously mispent life, and ask thyself what thou hast not done? Ask, why is it that thou wert not long ago destroyed? Why wert thou not drowned in Yarmouth Roads? killed in the fight when the ship was taken by the Sallee man of war? devoured by the wild beasts on the coast of Africa? or, drowned HERE, when all the crew perished but thyself? Dost thou ask, What have I done?*

I was struck with these reflections as one astonished, and had not a word to say, no, not to answer to myself; but rose up pensive and sad, walked back to my retreat, and went up over my wall, as if I had been going to bed; but my thoughts were sadly disturbed, and I had no inclination to sleep; so I sat down in my chair, and lighted my lamp, for it began to be dark. Now, as the apprehension of the return of my distemper terrified me very much, it occurred to my thought, that the *Brasilians* take no physic but their tobacco, for almost all distempers; and I had a piece of a roll of tobacco in one of the chests, which was quite cured, and some also that was green, and not quite cured.

I went, directed by Heaven, no doubt! for in this chest I found a cure both for soul and body! I opened the chest, and found what I looked for, viz. the tobacco; and as the few books I had saved lay there too, I took out one of the bibles which I mentioned before, and which, to this time, I had not found leisure, or so much as inclination, to look into; I say I took it out, and brought both that and the tobacco with me to the table.

What use to make of the tobacco I knew not, as to my distemper, or whether it was good for it or no; but I tried several

experiments with it, as if I resolved it should hit one way or other : I first took a piece of a leaf, and chewed it in my mouth, which indeed at first almost stupified my brain, the tobacco being green and strong, and that I had not been much used to it ; then I took some, and steeped it an hour or two in some rum, and resolved to take a dose of it when I lay down ; and lastly, I burnt some upon a pan of coals, and held my nose close over the smoke of it, as long as I could bear it, as well for the heat as the virtue of it, and I held almost to suffocation.

In the interval of this operation, I took up the bible, and began to read ; but my head was too much disturbed with the tobacco to bear reading, at least at that time ; only having opened the book casually, the first words that occurred to me were these, *Call on me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.*

The words were very apt to my case, and made some impression upon my thoughts at the time of reading them, though not

imperfect prayer was over, I drank the rum in which I had steeped the tobacco, which was so strong and rank of the tobacco, that indeed I could scarce get it down. Immediately upon this I went to bed, and I found presently it flew up into my head violently; but I fell into a sound sleep, and waked no more, till by the sun it must necessarily be near three o'clock in the afternoon the next day; nay, to this hour I am partly of the opinion, that I slept all the next day and night, and till almost three the day after; for otherwise I knew not how I should lose a day out of my reckoning in the days of the week, as it appeared some years after I had done; for if I had lost it by crossing and recrossing the line, I should have lost more than one day: but certainly I lost a day in my account, and never knew which way.

Be that however one way or other, when I waked, I found myself exceedingly refreshed, and my spirits lively and cheerful. When I got up, I was stronger than I was the day before, and my stomach better; for I was hungry; and, in short, I had no fit the next day, but continued much altered for the better. This was the 29th.

The 30th was my well day, of course; and I went abroad with my gun, but did not care to travel too far: I killed a sea-towl or two, something like a brand goose, and brought them home, but was not very forward to eat them: so I eat some more of the turtle's eggs, which were very good. This evening I renewed the medicine which I had supposed did me good the day before, viz. the tobacco steeped in rum; only I did not take so much as before, nor did I chew any of the leaf, or hold my head over the smoke: however, I was not so well the next day, which was the first of July, as I hoped I should have been; for I had a little spice of the cold fit, but it was not much.

*July 2.* I renewed the medicine all the three ways, and dosed myself with it at first, and doubled the quantity which I drank.

*July 3.* I missed the fit for good and all, though I did not

recover my full strength for some weeks after. While I was thus gathering strength, my thoughts run exceedingly upon the scripture, I will deliver thee; and the impossibility of my deliverance lay much upon my mind, in bar of my ever expecting it: but as I was discouraging myself with such thoughts, it occurred to my mind, that I pored so much upon my deliverance from the main affliction, that I disregarded the deliverance I had received; and I was, as it were, made to ask myself such questions as these; *viz.* Have I not been delivered, and wonderfully too, from sickness? from the most distressed condition that could be, and that was so frightful to me? and what notice had I taken of it? had I done my part? *God had delivered me: but I had not glorified him:* that is to say, I had not owned and been thankful for that as a deliverance; and how could I expect greater deliverance?

This touched my heart very much, and immediately I kneeled down, and gave God thanks, aloud, for my recovery from my sickness.

This was the first time that I could say, in the true sense of the words, that I prayed in all my life; for now I prayed with a sense of my condition, and with a true scripture view of hope, founded on the encouragement of the word of God; and from this time, I may say, I began to have hope that God would hear me.

Now I began to construe the words mentioned above "*Call on me, and I will deliver thee,*" in a different sense from what I had ever done before; for then I had no notion of any thing being called deliverance, but my being delivered from the captivity I was in; for though I was indeed at large in the place, yet the island was certainly a prison to me, and that, in the worst sense in the world; but now I learned to take it in another sense. Now I looked back upon my past life with such horror, and my sins appeared so dreadful, that my soul sought nothing of God, but deliverance from the load of guilt that bore down all my comfort. As for my solitary life, it was nothing; I did not so much as pray to be delivered from it, or think of it; it was all of no consideration, in comparison of this: and I add this part here, to hint to whoever shall read it, that whenever they come to a true sense of things, they will find deliverance from sin a much greater blessing than deliverance from affliction.

But, leaving this part, I return to my journal.

My condition began now to be, though not less miserable as to my way of living, yet much easier to my mind; and my thoughts being directed by a constant reading the Scripture, and praying to God, to things of a higher nature, I had a great deal of comfort within, which till now I knew nothing of: also as my health and strength returned, I bestirred myself to furnish myself with every thing that I wanted, and make my way of living as regular as I could.

From the 4th of *July* to the 14th, I was chiefly employed in walking about with my gun in my hand, a little and a little at a

ime, as a man that was gathering up his strength after a fit of sickness ; for it is hardly to be imagined how low I was, and to what weakness I was reduced. The application which I made use of was perfectly new, and perhaps what had never cured anague before ; neither can I recommend it to any one to practise by this experiment ; and though it did carry off the fit, yet it rather contributed to weaken me ; for I had frequent convulsions in my nerves and limbs for some time.

I learnt from it also this in particular, that being abroad in the rainy season was the most pernicious thing to my health that could be, especially in those rains which came attended with storms and hurricanes of wind ; for as the rain which came in a dry season was always most accompanied with such storms, so I found this rain was much more dangerous than the rain which fell in *September* and *October*.

I had been now in this unhappy island above ten months ; all possibility of deliverance from this condition seemed to be

as it might be supposed, never overflowed, I found a great deal of tobacco, green, and growing to a great and very strong stalk : there were divers other plants which I had no notion of, or understanding about ; and might perhaps have virtues of their own, which I could not find out.

I searched for the *cassave* root, which the *Indians* in all that climate make their bread of, but I could find none. I saw large plants of aloes, but did not then understand them : I saw several sugar canes, but wild, and for want of cultivation, imperfect. I contented myself with these discoveries for this time, and came back musing with myself what course I might take to know the virtue and goodness of any of the fruits or plants which I should discover, but could bring it to no conclusion : for, in short, I had made so little observation while I was in the *Brasils*, that I knew little of the plants of the field, at least very little that might serve me to any purpose now in my distress.

The next day, the 16th, I went up the same way again ; and, after going something farther than I had done the day before, I found the brook and the *savannas* began to cease, and the country became more woody than before. In this part I found different fruits, and particularly I found melons upon the ground in great abundance, and grapes upon the trees ; the vines had spread indeed over the trees, and the clusters of grapes were just now in their prime, very ripe and rich. This was a surprising discovery, and I was exceeding glad of them, but I was warned by my experience to eat sparingly of them, remembering that, when I was ashore in *Barbary*, the eating of grapes killed several of our *Englishmen* who were slaves there, by throwing them into fluxes and fevers : but I found an excellent use for these grapes, and that was to cure or dry them in the sun and keep them as dried grapes or raisins are kept, which I thought would be, as indeed they were, as wholesome, and as agreeable to eat, when no grapes might be had.

return of my distemper the next day : at night I made my supper of three of the turtle's eggs, which I roasted in the ashes, and eat, as we call it, in the shell ; and this was the first bit of meat I had ever asked God's blessing to, even, as I could remember, in my whole life.

After I had eaten I tried to walk ; but found myself so weak, that I could hardly carry the gun (for I never went out without that) ; so I went but a little way, and sat down upon the ground, looking out upon the sea, which was just before me, and very calm and smooth. As I sat here, some such thoughts as these occurred to me :

What is the earth and sea, of which I have seen so much ? Whence is it produced ? And what am I, and all the other creatures, wild and tame, human and brutal ; whence are we ?

Sure we are all made by some secret power, who formed the earth and sea, the air and sky ; and who is that ?

Then it followed, most naturally : it is God that has made it

*Why has God done this to me? What have I done to be thus used?*

My conscience presently checked me in that inquiry, as if I had blasphemed; and methought it spoke to me, like a voice; *Wretch! dost thou ask what thou hast done? Look back upon a dreadful mispent life, and ask thyself what thou hast not done? Ask, why is it that thou wert not long ago destroyed? Why wert thou not drowned in Yarmouth Roads? killed in the fight when the ship was taken by the Saltee man of war? devoured by the wild beasts on the coast of Africa? or, drowned HERE, when all the crew perished but thyself? Dust thou ask, What have I done?*

I was struck with these reflections as one astonished, and had not a word to say, no, not to answer to myself; but rose up pensive and sad, walked back to my retreat, and went up over my wall, as if I had been going to bed; but my thoughts were sadly disturbed, and I had no inclination to sleep; so I sat down in my chair, and lighted my lamp, for it began to be dark. Now, as the apprehension of the return of my distemper terrified me very much, it occurred to my thought, that the *Brasilians* take no physic but their tobacco, for almost all distempers; and I had a piece of a roll of tobacco in one of the chests, which was quite cured, and some also that was green, and not quite cured.

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Daily two or three hours at enlarging my cave ; and, by degrees, worked it on towards one side, till I came to the outside of the hill, and made a door or way out, which came beyond my fence or wall ; and so I came in and out this way : but I was not perfectly easy at lying so open ; for as I had managed myself before, I was in a perfect enclosure, whereas now I thought I lay exposed ; and yet I could not perceive that there was any living thing to fear, the biggest creature that I had seen upon the island being a goat.

*September* the thirtieth. I was now come to the unhappy anniversary of my landing : I cast up the notches on my post, and found I had been on shore three hundred and sixty-five days. I kept this day as a solemn fast, setting it apart to a religious exercise, prostrating myself on the ground with the most serious humiliation, confessing my sins to God, acknowledging his righteous judgments upon me, and praying to him to have mercy on me, through Jesus Christ : and having not tasted the least re-

The rainy season, and the dry season, began now to appear regular to me, and I learned to divide them so as to provide for them accordingly. But I bought all my experience before I had it ; and this I am going to relate, was one of the most discouraging experiments that I made at all. I have mentioned, that I had saved the few ears of barley and rice which I had so surprisingly found spring up, as I thought, of themselves, and believe there were about thirty stalks of rice, and about twenty of barley ; and now I thought it a proper time to sow it after the rains, the sun being in its *southern* position going from me.

Accordingly I dug up a piece of ground, as well as I could, with my wooden spade, and dividing it into two parts, I sowed my grain ; but as I was sowing, it casually occurred to my thought, that I would not sow it all at first, because I did not know when was the proper time for it ; so I sowed about two thirds of the seeds, leaving about a handful of each. It was a great comfort to me afterwards that I did so, for not one grain of that I sowed this time came to any thing ; for the dry months following, the earth having had no rain after the seed was sown, it had no moisture to assist its growth, and never came up at all, till the wet season had come again, and then it grew as if it had been newly sown.

finding my first seed did not grow, which I easily imagined was by the drought, I sought for a moister piece of ground to make another trial in ; and I dug up a piece of ground near my new bower, and sowed the rest of my seed in *February*, a little before the *vernal equinox* ; and this, having the rainy months of *March* and *April* to water it, sprung up very pleasantly, and yielded a very good crop ; but having part of the seed left only, and not daring to sow all that I had yet, I had but a small quantity at last, my whole crop not amounting to above half a peck of each kind.

But by this experience I was made master of my business, and

knew exactly when the proper season was to sow ; and that I might expect two seed times, and two harvests every year.

While this corn was growing, I made a little discovery, which was of use to me afterwards. As soon as the rains were over, and the weather began to settle, which was about the month of November, I made a visit up the country to my bower, where though I had not been some months, yet I found all things just as I left them. The circle or double hedge that I had made, was not only firm and entire, but the stakes which I had cut off of some trees that grew thereabouts, were all shot out, and grown with long branches, as much as a willow tree usually shoots the first year after lopping its head. I could not tell what tree to call it that these stakes were cut from. I was surprised, and yet very well pleased, to see the young trees grow ; and I pruned them, and led them up to grow as much alike as I could, and it is scarce credible, how beautiful a figure they grew into in three years : so that though the hedge made a circle of about twenty-

Half April,

May,

June,

July,

Half August,

Half August,

September,

Half October,

Half October,

November,

December,

January,

Half February,

Dry, the sun being then to the north of the line.

Rainy, the sun being then come back.

Dry, the sun being then to the south of the line.

Half February,

The rainy season sometimes held longer or shorter, as the winds happened to blow; but this was the general observation I made. After I had found, by experience, the ill consequence of being abroad in the rain, I took care to furnish myself with provision beforehand, that I might not be obliged to go out; and I sat within doors as much as possible during the wet months.

In this time I found much employment, (and very suitable also to the time) for I found great occasion of many things which I had no way to furnish myself with, but by hard labour and constant application: particularly, I tried many ways to make myself a basket; but all the twigs I could get for the purpose proved so brittle, that they would do nothing. It proved of excellent advantage to me now, that when I was a boy, I used to take great delight in standing at a basket-maker's in the town where my father lived, to see them make their wicker-work; and being, as boys usually are, very officious to help, and a great observer of the manner how they worked those things,

and sometimes lending a hand, I had by this means so full knowledge of the methods of it, that I wanted nothing but the materials; when it came into my mind, that the twigs of that tree from whence I cut my stakes that grew, might possibly be as tough as the *sallops* and *willows*, and *osiers*, in *England*; and I resolved to try.

Accordingly the next day I went to my country house, as I called it, and cutting some of the smaller twigs, I found them to my purpose as much as I could desire; whereupon I came the next time prepared with a hatchet to cut down a quantity, which I soon found, for there was a great plenty of them: these I set up to dry within my circle or hedges; and when they were fit for use, I carried them to my cave; and here during the next season I employed myself in making (*as well as I could*) a great many baskets, both to carry earth, or to carry or lay up any thing, as I had occasion; and though I did not finish them very handsomely, yet I made them sufficiently serviceable for my

piles, and in this wuker work, all the summer, or dry season; when another business took me up more time than it could be imagined I could spare.

I mentioned before, that I had a great mind to see the whole island, and that I had travelled up the brook, and so on to where I built my bower, and where I had an opening quite to the sea, on the other side of the island. I now resolved to travel quite across to the sea-shore on that side: so taking my gun, and hatchet, and my dog, and a larger quantity of powder and shot than usual, with two biscuit-cakes, and a great bunch of raisins in my pouch, for my store, I began my journey. When I had passed the vale where my bower stood, as above, I came within view of the sea, to the west; and it being a very clear day, I fairly descried land, whether an island or continent I could not tell; but it lay very high, extending from the *West* to the *W. S. W.* at a very great distance; by my guess it could not be less than fifteen or twenty leagues off.

I could not tell what part of the world this might be, otherwise than that I knew it must be part of *America*; and, as I concluded by all my observations, must be near the *Spanish* dominions, and perhaps was all inhabited by savages, where if I should have landed, I had been in a worse condition than I was now; and therefore I acquiesced in the dispositions of Providence, which I began now to own, and to believe, ordered every thing for the best; I say, I quieted my mind with this, and lest afflicting myself with fruitless wishes of being there.

Besides, after some pause upon this affair, I considered, that if this land was the *Spanish* coast, I should certainly, one time or other, see some vessels pass or repass one way or other; but if not, then it was the *savage* coast between the *Spanish* country and *Brasil*, which are indeed the worst of *savages*; for they are cannibals, or men-eaters, and fail not to murder and devour all the human bodies that fall into their hands.

With these considerations I walked very leisurely forward. I

ound that side of the island where I now was, much pleasanter than mine, the open or *savanna* fields sweet, adorned with flowers and grass, and full of very fine woods. I saw abundance of parrots, and fain would I have caught one, if possible, to have kept it to be tame, and taught it to speak to me. I did, after some pains taken, catch a young parrot; for I knocked it down with a stick, and having recovered it, I brought it home, but it was some years before I could make him speak. However, at last I taught him to call me by my name, very familiarly: but the accident that followed, though it be a trifle, will be very diverting in its place.

I was exceedingly diverted with this journey: I found in the low grounds, hares as I thought them to be, and foxes, but they differed greatly from all the other kinds I had met with; nor could I satisfy myself to eat them, though I killed several: but I had no need to be venturesome; for I had no want of food, and of that which was very good too: especially these three sorts,

indeed the shore was covered with innumerable turtles, whereas on the other side I had found but three in a year and a half. Here was also an infinite number of fowls of many kinds, some of which I had not seen before, and many of them very good meat; but such as I knew not the names of, except those called *penguins*.

I could have shot as many as I pleased, but was very sparing of my powder and shot: and therefore had more mind to kill a *she-goat*, if I could, which I could better feed on: and though there were many more goats here than on the other side of the island, yet it was with much more difficulty that I could come near them; the country being flat and even, and they saw me much sooner than when I was on the hills.

I confess this side of the country was much pleasanter than mine, but yet I had not the least inclination to remove; for as I was fixed in my habitation, it became natural to me; and I seemed all the while I was here, to be, as it were, upon a journey, and from home. However, I travelled along the shore of the sea towards the *east*, I suppose, about twelve miles; and then setting up a great pole upon the shore for a mark, I concluded I would go home again; and the next journey I took should be on the other side of the island, *east* from my dwelling, and so round, till I came to my post again: of which in its place.

I took another way to come back than that I went, thinking I could easily keep all the island so much in my view, that I could not miss finding my first dwelling by viewing the country; but I found myself mistaken; for being come about two or three miles, I found myself descended into a very large valley; but so surrounded with hills, and those hills covered with woods, that I could not see which was my way by any direction but that of the sun; nor even then, unless I knew very well the position of the sun at that time of the day.

It happened, to my farther misfortune, that the weather proved

hazy for three or four days, while I was in this valley ; and not being able to see the sun, I wandered about very uncomfortably, and at last was obliged to find out the sea-side, look for my post, and come back the same way I went ; and then by easy journeys I turned homeward, the weather being exceeding hot ; and my gun, ammunition, hatchet, and other things, very heavy.

In this journey my dog surprised a young kid, and seized upon it ; and I running in to take hold of it, caught it, and saved it alive from the dog. I had a great mind to bring it home, if I could ; for I had often been musing whether it might not be possible to get a kid or two, and so raise a breed of tame goats, which might supply me when my powder and shot should be spent.

I made a collar for this little creature ; and with a string which I made of some rope-yarn, which I always carried about me, I led him along, though with some difficulty, till I came to my power, and there I inclosed him, and left him ; for I was very

it where I left it ; for indeed it could not get out, but was almost starved for want of food. I went and cut boughs of trees and branches of such shrubs as I could find, and threw it over ; and having fed it, I tied it as I did before to lead it away ; but it was so tame with being hungry, that I had no need to have tied it ; for it followed me like a dog ; and as I continually fed it, the creature became so loving, so gentle, and so fond, that it became from that time one of my domestics also, and would never leave me afterwards.

The rainy season of the *autumnal equinox* was now come, and I kept the 30th of September in the same solemn manner as before, being the anniversary of my landing on the island, having now been there two years, and no more prospect of being delivered than the first day I came there. I spent the whole day in humble and thankful acknowledgments of the many wonderful mercies which my solitary condition was attended with, and without which it might have been infinitely more miserable. I gave humble and hearty thanks, that God had been pleased to discover to me, even that it was possible I might be more happy in this solitary condition, than I should have been in a liberty of society, and in all the pleasures of the world : that he could fully make up to me the deficiencies of my solitary state and the want of human society, by his presence, and the communications of his grace to my soul, supporting, comforting, and encouraging me to depend upon his providence here, and hope for his eternal presence hereafter.

It was now that I began sensibly to feel how much more happy the life I now led was, with all its miserable circumstances, than the wicked cursed abominable life I led all the past part of my years ; and now, having changed both my sorrows and my joys, my very desires altered, my affections changed their gust, and my delights were perfectly new from what they were at first coming, or indeed for two years past.

*Before, as I walked about, either on my hunting, or for view-*

ng the country, the anguish of my soul at my condition would break out upon me on a sudden, and my very heart would die within me, to think of the woods, the mountains, the deserts I was in; and how I was a prisoner, locked up with the eternal bolts and bars of the ocean, in an uninhabited wilderness, without redemption. In the midst of the greatest composes of my mind, this would break out upon me like a storm, and made me wring my hands, and weep like a child. Sometimes it would take me in the middle of my work, and I would immediately sit down and sigh, and look upon the ground for an hour or two together; and this was still worse to me; for if I could burst out into tears, or vent myself by words, it would go off, and the grief, having exhausted itself, would abate.

But now I began to exercise myself with new thoughts; I daily read the word of God, and applied all the comforts of it to my present state. One morning, being very sad, I opened the Bible upon these words, "*I will never, never leave thee, nor for-*

thankful for a condition, which, however thou mayest endeavour to be contented with, thou wouldest rather pray heartily to be delivered from? So I stopped there; but though I could not say I thanked God for being there, yet I sincerely gave thanks to God for opening my eyes, by whatever afflicting providences, to see the former condition of my life, and to mourn for my wickedness, and repent. I never opened the bible, or shut it, but my very soul within me blessed God for directing my friend in England, without any order of mine, to pack it up among my goods; and for assisting me afterwards to save it out of the wreck of the ship.

Thus, and in this disposition of mind, I began my third year; and though I have not given the reader the trouble of so particular an account of my works this year as at the first, yet in general it may be observed, that I was very seldom idle; having regularly divided my time, according to the several daily employments that were before me: such as, *first*, my duty to God, and reading the scriptures, which I constantly set apart some time for, thrice every day. *Secondly*, the going abroad with my gun for food, which generally took me up three hours every morning when it did not rain. *Thirdly*, the ordering, curing, preserving, and cooking what I had killed or caught for my supply. These took up great part of the day. Also it is to be considered, that in the middle of the day, when the sun was in the zenith, the violence of the heat was too great to stir out; so that about four hours in the evening was all the time I could be supposed to work in; with this exception, that sometimes I changed my hours of hunting and working, and went to work in the morning, and hunted with my gun in the afternoon.

To this short time allowed for labour, I desire may be added the exceeding laboriousness of my work; the many hours which, for want of tools, want of help, and want of skill, every thing that I did took up *out of my time*: for example, I was full two-

and-forty days making me a board for a long shelf, which I wanted in my cave ; whereas two sawyers, with their tools and saw-pit, would have cut six of them out of the same tree in half a day.

My case was this : It was to be a large tree which was to be cut down, because my board was to be a broad one. The tree I was three days a cutting down, and two more cutting off the boughs, and reducing it to a log, or piece of timber. With inexpressible hacking and hewing, I reduced both the sides of it into chips, till it began to be light enough to move ; then I turned it, and made one side of it smooth and flat, as a board, from end to end : then turning that side downward, cut the other side till I brought the plank to be about three inches thick, and smooth on both sides. Any one may judge the labour of my hands in such a piece of work ; but labour and patience carried me through that and many other things ; I only observe this in particular, to shew the reason why so much of my time went

blade, lay in it night and day, as soon as it came up, and eat it so close, that it could get no time to shoot up into stalks.

This I saw no remedy for, but by making an inclosure about it with a hedge, which I did with a great deal of toil; and the more, because it required a great deal of speed; the creatures daily spoiling my corn. However, as my arable land was but small, suited to my crop, I got it totally well fenced in about three weeks time; and shooting some of the creatures in the day-time, I set my dog to guard it in the night, tying him up to a stake at the gate, where he would stand and bark all night long: so in a little time the enemies forsook the place, and the corn grew very strong and well, and began to ripen space.

But as the beasts ruined me before, while my corn was in the blade, so the birds were as like to ruin me now, when it was in the ear; for going along by the place to see how it throve, I saw my little crop surrounded with fowls of I know not how many sorts, which stood as it were watching till I should be gone. I immediately let fly among them, (for I always had my gun with me.) I had no sooner shot, but there arose up a little cloud of fowls, which I had not seen at all, from among the corn itself.

This touched me sensibly; for I foresaw, that in a few days they would devour all my hopes: that I should be starved, and never be able to raise a crop at all; and what to do I could not tell; however, I resolved not to lose my corn, if possible, though I should watch it night and day. In the first place, I went among it to see what damage was already done, and found they had spoiled a good deal of it; but that, as it was yet too green for them, the loss was not so great, but the remainder was like to be a good crop, if it could be saved.

I staid by it to load my gun, and then coming away, I could easily see the thieves sitting upon all the trees about me, as if they only waited till I was gone away, and the event proved it to be so; for as I walked off, as if I was gone, I was no sooner

out of their sight, but they dropped down one by one into the corn again. I was so provoked, that I could not have patience to stay till more came on, knowing that every grain that they eat now was, *as it might be said*, a peck loaf to me in the consequence; but coming up to the hedge, I fired again, and killed three of them. This was what I wished for; so I took them up, and served them as we serve notorious thieves in *England*, *viz.* hanged them in chains, for a terror to others. It is impossible to imagine almost, that this should have such an effect as it had; for the fowls would not only not come at the corn, but in short they forsook all that part of the island, and I could never see a bird near the place as long as my scarecrows hung there.

This I was very glad of, you may be sure; and about the latter end of *December*, which was our second harvest of the year, I reaped my corn.

I was sadly put to it for a scythe or a sickle to cut it down, and all I could do was to make one as well as I could, out of one

and to secure a constant supply, I resolved not to taste any of this crop, but to preserve it al. for seed against the next season, and in the mean time to employ all my study and hours of working to accomplish this great work of providing myself with corn and bread.

It might be truly said, that now I worked for my bread. It is a little wonderful, and what I believe few people have thought much upon; *viz.* the strange multitude of little things necessary in the providing, producing, curing, dressing, making, and finishing, this one article of bread.

I, that was reduced to a mere state of nature, found this to be my daily discouragement, and was made more and more sensible of it every hour, even after I got the first handful of seed corn, which, as I have said, came up unexpectedly, and indeed to a surprise.

First, I had no plough to turn the earth, no spade or shovel to dig it. Well, this I conquered by making a wooden spade, as I observed before, but this did my work in but a wooden manner; and though it cost me a great many days to make it, yet for want of iron, it not only wore out the sooner, but made my work the harder, and made it be performed much worse.

However, this I bore with too, and was content to work it out with patience, and bear with the badness of the performance. When the corn was sowed, I had no harrow, but was forced to go over it myself, and drag a great heavy bough of a tree over it, to scratch the earth, as it may be called, rather than rake or harrow it.

When it was growing or grown, I have observed already how many things I wanted, to fence it, secure it, mow or reap it, cure or carry it home, thresh, part it from the chaff, and save it. Then I wanted a mill to grind it, sieves to dress it, yeast and salt to make it into bread, and an oven to bake it in; and all these things I did without, as shall be observed; and yet the corn was an

nestimable comfort and advantage to me too: but all this, as I said, made every thing laborious and tedious to me, but that there was no help for; neither was my time so much loss to me, because I had divided it. A certain part of it was every day appointed to these works; and as I resolved to use none of the corn for bread till I had a greater quantity by me, I had the next six months to apply myself, wholly by labour and invention, to furnish myself with utensils proper for the performing all the operations necessary for the making the corn, when I had it, fit for my use.

But first I was to prepare more land, for I had now seed enough to sow above an acre of ground. Before I did this, I had a week's work at least to make me a spade, which, when it was done, was a very sorry one indeed, and very heavy, and required double labour to work with it; however, I went through that, and sowed my seeds in two large flat pieces of ground, as near my house as I could find them to my mind, and fenced them in with a good hedge.

indeed I wanted sorely, but knew not where to come at them: however, considering the heat of the climate, I did not doubt but if I could find out any such clay, I might borch up some such pot, as might, being dried by the sun, be hard enough, and strong enough, to bear handling, and to hold any thing that was dry, and required to be kept so; and as this was necessary in preparing corn, meal, &c. which was the thing I was upon, I resolved to make some as large as I could, and fit only to stand like jars to hold what should be put into them.

It would make the reader pity me, or rather laugh at me, to tell how many awkward ways I took to raise this paste, what odd misshapen ugly things I made, how many of them fell in, and how many fell out, the clay not being stiff enough to bear its own weight; how many cracked by the over violent heat of the sun, being set out too hastily; and how many fell to pieces with only removing, as well before as after they were dried; and, in a word, how, after having laboured hard to find the clay, to dig it, to temper it, to bring it home, and work it, I could not make above two large earthen ugly things, I cannot call them jars, in about two months labour.

However, as the sun baked these two very dry and hard, I fired them very gently up, and set them down again in two greater wicker baskets, which I had made on purpose for them, that they might not break; and, as between the pot and the basket there was a little room to spare, I stufed it full of the rice and barley straw; and these two pots being to stand always dry, I thought would hold my dry corn, and perhaps the meal when the corn was bruised.

Though I miscarried so much in my design for large pots, yet I made several smaller things with better success; such as little round pots, flat dishes, pitchers, and pkins, and any thing my hand turned to; and the heat of the sun baked them strangely hard.

But all this would not answer my end, which was to get an

earthen pot to hold what was liquid, and bear the fire, which none of these could do. It happened after some time, making a pretty large fire for cooking my meat, when I went to put it out after I had done with it, I found a broken piece of one of my earthen-ware vessels in the fire, burnt as hard as a stone, and red as a tile. I was agreeably surprised to see it, and said to myself, that certainly they might be made to burn whole, if they would burn broken.

This set me to study how to order my fire, so as to make it burn me some pots. I had no notion of a kiln, such as the potters burn in, or of glazing them with lead, though I had some lead to do it with ; but I placed three large pipkins, and two or three pots, in a pile one upon another, and placed my fire-wood all round it, with a great heap of embers under them : I plied the fire with fresh fuel round the outside, and upon the top, till I saw the pots in the inside red-hot quite through, and observed that they did not crack at all : when I saw them clear red, I let

No joy at a thing of so mean a nature was ever equal to mine, when I found I had made an earthen pot that would bear the fire; and I had hardly patience to stay till they were cold, before I set one upon the fire again, with some water in it, to boil me some meat, which it did admirably well; and with a piece of a kid I made some very good broth, though I wanted oatmeal, and several other ingredients requisite to make it so good as I would have had it.

My next concern was to get me a stone mortar to stamp or beat some corn in; for as to the mill, there was no thought of arriving to that perfection of art with one pair of hands. To supply this want, I was at a great loss; for of all trades in the world I was as perfectly unqualified for a stone-cutter, as for any whatever; neither had I any tools to go about it with. I spent many a day to find out a great stone big enough to cut hollow, and make fit for a mortar, and could find none at all, except what was in the solid rock, and which I had no way to dig or cut out; nor indeed were the rocks in the island of hardness sufficient, but were all of a sandy crumbling stone, which would neither bear the weight of a heavy pestle, nor would break the corn without filling it with sand; so, after a great deal of time lost in searching for a stone, I gave it over, and resolved to look out for a great block of hard wood, which I found indeed much easier; and getting one as big as I had strength to stir, I rounded it, and formed it on the outside with my axe and hatchet; and then, with the help of fire and infinite labour, made a hollow place in it, as the *Indians* in *Brasil* make their canoes. After this, I made a great heavy pestle or beater, of the wood called the iron-wood; and this I prepared and laid by against I had my next crop of corn, when I proposed to myself to grind, or rather pound, my corn or meal to make my bread.

My next difficulty was to make a sieve or scartre, to dress my meal, and part it from the bran and the husk, without which I

did not see it possible I could have any bread. This was a most difficult thing, so much as but to think on ; for to be sure, I had nothing like the necessary things to make it with ; I mean fine thin canvass, or stuff, to searce the meal through. And here I was at a full stop for many months ; nor did I really know what to do : linen I had none left but what was mere rags ; I had goat's hair, but neither knew I how to weave or spin it ; and had I known how, here were no tools to work it with. All the remedy that I found for this, was, that at last I did remember I had among the seamen's clothes, which were saved out of the ship, some neckcloths of calico or muslin ; and with some pieces of these I made three small sieves, but proper enough for the work : and thus I made shift for some years ; how I did afterwards, I shall shew in its place.

The baking part was the next thing to be considered, and how I should make bread when I came to have corn ; for, first, I had no yeast. As to that part, as there was no supplying the want, so

barley-leaves, and became in a little time a mere pastry-cook into the bargain ; for I made myself several cakes of the rice, and puddings ; indeed I made no pies, neither had I any thing to put into them, supposing I had, except the flesh either of fowls or goats.

It need not be wondered at, if all these things took me up most part of the third year of my abode here ; for it is to be observed, that in the intervals of these things, I had my new harvest and husbandry to manage : for I reaped my corn in its season, and carried it home as well as I could, and laid it up in the ear, in my large baskets, till I had time to rub it out ; for I had no floor to thrash it on, or instrument to thrash it with.

And now indeed, my stock of corn increasing, I really wanted to build my barns bigger : I wanted a place to lay it up in ; for the increase of the corn now yielded me so much, that I had of the barley about twenty bushels, and of the rice as much, or more ; insomuch that I now resolved to begin to use it freely, for my bread had been quite gone a great while : also I resolved to see what quantity would be sufficient for me a whole year, and to sow but once a year.

Upon the whole, I found that the forty bushels of barley and rice were much more than I could consume in a year ; so I resolved to sow just the same quantity every year that I sowed the last, in hopes that such a quantity would fully provide me with bread, &c.

All the while these things were doing, you may be sure my thoughts ran many times upon the prospect of land which I had seen from the other side of the island ; and I was not without secret wishes that I was on shore there, fancying that seeing the main land, and in an inhabited country, I might find some way or other to convey myself farther, and perhaps at last find some means of escape.

But all this while I made no allowance for the dangers of such a condition, and how I might fall into the hands of savages, and

perhaps such as I might have reason to think far worse than the lions and tigers of *Africa* : that if I once came into their power, I should run a hazard more than a thousand to one of being killed, and perhaps of being eaten ; for I had heard that the people of the *Caribbean* coasts were cannibals, or men-eaters ; and I knew by the latitude that I could not be far off from that shore : that, suppose they were not cannibals, yet they might kill me, as many *Europeans* who had fallen into their hands had been devoured, even when they had been ten or twenty together ; much more I that was but one, and could make little or no defence. All these things, I say, which I ought to have considered well of, and I did cast up in my thoughts afterwards, yet took none of my apprehensions at first ; and my head ran mightily upon the thoughts of getting over to that shore.

Now I wished for my boy *Xury*, and the long boat with the shoulder-of-mutton sail, with which I sailed above a thousand miles on the coast of *Africa* ; but this was in vain. Then I

I spared no pains indeed in this piece of fruitless toil, and spent, I think, three or four weeks about it: at last finding it impossible to heave it up with my little strength, I fell to digging away the sand to undermine it; and so to make it fall down, setting pieces of wood to thrust and guide it right in the fall.

But when I had done this, I was unable to stir it up again, or to get under it, much less to move it forwards towards the water; so I was forced to give it over: and yet, though I gave over hopes of the boat, my desire to venture over for the main increased, rather than decreased, as the means for it seemed impossible.

This at length set me upon thinking whether it was not possible to make myself a *canoe* or *periagua*, such as the natives of those climates make, even without tools, or as I might say, without hands, viz. of the trunk of a great tree. This I not only thought possible, but easy; and pleased myself extremely with my thoughts of making it, and with my having much more convenience for it than any of the *negroes* or *Indians*; but not at all considering the particular inconveniences which I lay under more than the *Indians* did, viz. want of hands to move it into the water, when it was made; a difficulty much harder for me to surmount than all the consequences of want of tools could be to them; for what was it to me, that when I had chosen a vast tree in the woods, I might with great trouble cut it down, if, after I might be able with my tools to hew and dub the outside into a proper shape of a boat, and burn or cut out the inside to make it hollow, so to make a boat of it; if, after all this, I must leave it just there where I found it, and was not able to launch it into the water?

One would have thought, I could not have had the least reflection upon my mind of my circumstances, while I was making my boat, but I should have immediately thought how I should get it into the sea; but my thoughts were so intent upon my voyage over the sea in it, that I never once considered how I should get

it off the land ; and it was really in its own nature more easy for me to guide it over forty-five miles of sea, than about forty-five fathom of land, where it lay, to set it afloat in the water.

I went to work upon this boat the most like a fool that ever man did, who had any of his senses awake. I pleased myself with the design, without determining whether I was ever able to undertake it ; not but that the difficulty of launching my boat came often into my head ; but I put a stop to my own inquiries into it by this foolish answer which I gave myself ; *Let me first make it, I will warrant I will find some way or other to get it along when it is done.*

This was a most preposterous method ; but the eagerness of my fancy prevailed, and to work I went, and felled a cedar tree ; I question much whether *Solomon* ever had such a one for the building the temple of *Jerusalem* ; it was five feet ten inches diameter at the lower part next the stump, and four feet eleven inches diameter at the end of twenty-two feet, after which it

or *perigree*, that was made of one tree, in my life ; many a weary stroke it had cost, you may be sure, for there remained nothing but to get it into the water ; and had I gotten it into the water, I make no question but I should have begun the maddest voyage, and the most unlikely to be performed, that ever was undertaken.

But all my devices to get it into the water failed me, though they cost infinite labour too ; it lay about one hundred yards from the water, and not more ; but the first inconvenience was, it was up hill towards the creek. Well, to take away this discouragement, I resolved to dig into the surface of the earth, and so make a *decoy* ; this I began, and it cost me a prodigious deal of pains. but who grudge pains that have their deliverance in view ? But when this was worked through, and this difficulty managed, it was still much at one ; for I could no more stir the *carre* than I could the other boat.

Then I measured the distance of ground, and resolved to cut a dock, or canal, to bring the water up to the *carre*, seeing I could not bring the *carre* down to the water. Well, I began this work, and when I began to enter into it, and calculated how deep it was to be dug, how broad, how the stuff to be thrown out, I found that by the number of hands I had, being none but my own, it must have been ten or twelve years before I should have gone through with it ; for the shore lay high, so that at the upper end it must have been at least twenty feet deep, so at length, though with great reluctance, I gave this attempt over also.

This grieved me heartily ; and now I saw, though too late, the folly of beginning a work before we count the cost, and before we judge rightly of our own strength to go through with it.

In the middle of this work I finished my fourth year in this place, and kept my anniversary with the same devotion, and with as much comfort, as ever before, for by a constant study, and serious application of the word of God, and by the assistance

of his grace, I gained a different knowledge from what I had before ; I entertained different notions of things ; I looked now upon the world as a thing remote ; which I had nothing to do with, no expectation from, and indeed no desires about : in a word, I had nothing indeed to do with it, nor was ever like to have ; so I thought it looked, as we may perhaps look upon it hereafter, *viz.* as a place I had lived in, but was come out of it ; and well I might say, as father *Abraham* to *Dives*, *Between me and thee there is a great gulph fixed*.

In the first place, I was removed from all the wickedness of the world here : I had neither the *lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, or the pride of life* : I had nothing to covet, for I had all I was now capable of enjoying : I was lord of the whole manor ; or, if I pleased, I might call myself king or emperor over the whole country which I had possession of : there were no rivals : I had no competitor, none to dispute sovereignty or command with me ; I might have raised ship-loadings of corn, but I had

ever we may heap up indeed to give to others, we enjoy as much as we can use, and no more. The most covetous griping miser in the world would have been cured of the vice of covetousness, if he had been in my case; for I possessed infinitely more than I knew what to do with. I had no room for desire, except it was of things which I had not, and they were but trifles, though indeed of great use to me. I had, as I hinted before, a parcel of money, as well gold as silver, about thirty-six pounds sterling; alas! there the nasty, sorry, useless stuff lay; I had no manner of business for it; and I often thought with myself, that I would have given a handful of it for a gross of tobacco-pipes, or for a hand-mill to grind my corn; nay, I would have given it all for six-penny worth of *turnip* and *carrot* seed out of *England*, or for a handful of *peas* and *beans*, and a bottle of ink: as it was, I had not the least advantage by it, or benefit from it; but there it lay in a drawer, and grew mouldy with the damp of the cave in the wet season; and if I had had the drawer full of diamonds, it had been the same case; and they had been of no manner of value to me, because of no use.

I had now brought my state of life to be much easier in itself than it was at first, and much easier to my mind, as well as to my body. I frequently sat down to my meat with thankfulness, and admired the hand of God's providence, which had thus spread my table in the wilderness. I learned to look more upon the bright side of my condition, and less upon the dark side; and to consider what I enjoyed, rather than what I wanted; and this gave me sometimes such secret comforts, that I cannot express them; and which I take notice of here, to put those discontented people in mind of it, who cannot enjoy comfortably what God has given them, because they see and covet something that he has not given them: all our discontents about what we want appeared to me to spring from the want of thankfulness for what we have.

Another reflection was of great use to me, and doubtless would be so to any one that should fall into such distress as mine was ; and this was, to compare my present condition with what I at first expected it should be ; nay, with what it would certainly have been, if the good providence of God had not wonderfully ordered the ship to be cast up nearer to the shore, where I not only could come at her, but could bring what I got out of her to the shore for my relief and comfort ; without which I had wanted tools to work, weapons for defence, or gunpowder and shot for getting my food.

I spent whole hours, I may say whole days, in representing to myself in the most lively colours how I must have acted, if I had got nothing out of the ship ; how I could not have so much as got any food, except fish and turtles ; and that, as it was long before I found any of them, I must have perished first : that I should have lived, if I had not perished, like a mere savage : that if I had killed a goat or a fowl by any contrivance, I had no way

wanting to me in their early endeavours, to infuse a religious awe of God into my mind, a sense of my duty, and of what the nature and end of my being required of me. But, alas! falling early into the sea-faring life, which of all the lives is the most destitute of the fear of God, though his terrors are always before them; I say, falling early into the seafaring life, and into seafaring company, all that little sense of religion which I had entertained, was laughed out of me by my messmates; by a hardened despising of dangers, and the views of death, which grew habitual to me; by my long absence from all manner of opportunities to converse with any thing but what was like myself, or to hear any thing of what was good, or tended towards it.

So void was I of every thing that was good, or of the least sense of what I was, or was to be, that in the greatest deliverances I enjoyed, such as my escape from Salice, my being taken up by the Portuguese master of the ship, my being plucked so well in Brazil, my receiving the cargo from England, and the like, I never once had the words *Thank God*, so much as on my mind, or in my mouth, nor in the greatest distress, had I so much thought as to pray to him; nor so much as to cry, *Lord, have mercy upon me!* No, nor to mention the name of God, unless it was to swear by, and blaspheme it.

I had terrible reflections upon my mind for many months, as I have already observed, on the account of my wicked and hardened life past; and when I looked about me, and considered what particular providences had attended me, since my coming into this place, and how God had dealt bountifully with me; had not only punished me less than my iniquity deserved, but had so plentifully provided for me; this gave me great hopes that my repentance was accepted, and that God had yet mercies in store for me.

With these reflections I worked my mind up, not only to resignation to the will of God in the present disposition of my

circumstances, but even to a sincere thankfulness for my condition ; and that I, who was yet a living man, ought not to complain, seeing I had not the due punishment of my sins ; that I enjoyed so many mercies, which I had no reason to have expected in that place ; that I ought never more to repine at my condition, but to rejoice, and to give daily thanks for that daily bread which nothing but a cloud of wonders could have brought : that I ought to consider I had been fed even by a miracle, even as great as that of feeding *Elijah* by ravens ; nay, by a long series of miracles ; and that I could hardly have named a place in the uninhabited part of the world, where I could have been cast more to my advantage : a place where, as I had no society, which was my affliction on one hand, so I found no ravenous beasts, no furious wolves or tigers, to threaten my life ; no venomous creatures, or poisonous, which I might have fed on to my hurt ; no savages to murder and devour me.

In a word, as my life was a life of sorrow one way, so it was

observe days as fatal or fortunate, I might have had reason to have looked upon with a great deal of curiosity.

First, I had observed, that the same day that I broke away from my father and my friends, and ran away to *Hull* in order to go to sea, the same day afterwards I was taken by the Sallee man of war, and made a slave.

The same day of the year that I escaped out of the wreck of that ship in *Yarmouth Roads*, that same day of the year afterwards I made my escape from *Sallee* in the boat.

The same day of the year I was born on, viz. the 20th of September, the same day I had my life so miraculously saved 26 years after, when I was cast on shore in this island; so that my wicked life, and solitary life, both began on a day.

The next thing to my ink's being wasted, was that of my bread, I mean the biscuit which I brought out of the ship. This I had husbanded to the last degree, allowing myself but one cake of bread a day, for above a year: and yet I was quite without bread for near a year before I got any corn of my own; and great reason I had to be thankful that I had any at all, the getting it being, as has been already observed, next to miraculous.

My clothes too began to decay mightily: as to linen, I had had none a good while, except some chequered shirts which I found in the chests of the other seamen, and which I carefully preserved, because many times I could hear no other clothes on but a shirt; and it was a very great help to me, that I had among all the men's clothes of the ship almost three dozen of shirts. There were also several thick watch coats of the seamen's, which were fit indeed, but they were too hot to wear, and though it is true, that the weather was so violent hot that there was no need of clothes, yet I could not go quite naked; no, though I had been inclined to it, which I was not; nor could I abide the thoughts of it, though I was all alone.

One reason why I could not go quite naked, was, I could not

bear the heat of the sun so well when quite naked, as with some clothes on ; nay, the very heat frequently blistered my skin ; whereas, with a shirt on, the air itself made some motion, and whistling under the shirt, was twofold cooler than without it : no more could I ever bring myself to go out in the heat of the sun without a cap or a hat ; the heat of the sun beating with such violence as it does in that place, would give me the headache presently, by darting so directly on my head, without a cap or hat on, so that I could not bear it ; whereas, if I put on my hat, it would presently go away.

Upon these views I began to consider about putting the few rags I had, which I called clothes, into some order ; I had worn out all the waistcoats I had, and my business was now to try if I could not make jackets out of the great watch-coats which I had by me, and with such other materials as I had ; so I set to work a-tailoring, or rather indeed a-botching ; for I made most piteous work of it. However, I made shift to make two or three waist-

when I was abroad, if it happened to rain, the hair of the waistcoat and cap being outmost, I was kept very dry.

After this I spent a deal of time and pains to make me an umbrella: I was indeed in great want of one, and had a great mind to make one; I had seen them made in the *Brasils*, where they are very useful in the great heats which are there, and I felt the heats every jot as great here, and greater too, being nearer the equinox; besides, as I was obliged to be much abroad, it was a most useful thing to me, as well for the rains as the heats. I took a world of pains at it, and was a great while before I coul'd make any thing likely to hold; nay, after I thought I had hit the way, I spoiled two or three before I made one to my mind, but at last I made one that answered indifferently well: the main difficulty I found was to make it to let down. I could make it to spread; but if it did not let down too, and draw in, it would not be portable for me any way, but just over my head, which wou'd not do. However, at last, as I said, I made one to answer; I covered it with skins, the hair upwards, so that it cast off the rain like a pent house, and kept off the sun so effectually, that I could walk out in the hottest of the weather, with greater advantage than I could before in the coo est, and when I had no need of it, I could close it, and carry it under my arm.

Thus I lived mighty comfortably, my mind being entirely composed by resigning to the will of God, and throwing myself wholly upon the disposal of his Providence: this made my life better than sociable; for when I began to regret the want of conversation, I would ask myself, whether thus conversing mutually with my own thoughts, and, as I hope, I may say, with even God himself, by ejaculations, was not better than the utmost enjoyment of human society in the world?

I cannot say, that after this, for five years, any extraordinary thing happened to me; but I lived on in the same course, in the same posture and place just as before; the chief thing I was

employed in, besides my yearly labour of planting my barley and rice, and curing my raisins, of both which I always kept up just enough to have sufficient stock of the year's provisions beforehand ; I say, besides this yearly labour, and my daily labour of going out with my gun, I had one labour to make me a canoe, which at last I finished : so that by digging a canal to it, six feet wide, and four feet deep, I brought it into the creek, almost half a mile. As for the first, that was so vastly big, as I made it without considering beforehand, as I ought to do, how I should be able to launch it ; so never being able to bring it to the water, or bring the water to it, I was obliged to let it lie where it was, as a *memorandum* to teach me to be wiser next time. Indeed the next time though I could not get a tree proper for it, and was in a place where I could not get the water to it, at any less distance than, as I have said, of near half a mile ; yet as I saw it was practicable at last, I never gave it over ; and though I was near two years about it, yet I never grudged my labour, in hopes

she would sail very well. Then I made little lockers and boxes at each end of my boat, to put provisions, necessaries, and ammunition, &c. into, to be kept dry, either from rain, or the spray of the sea; and a little long hollow place I cut in the inside of the boat, where I could lay my gun, making a flap to hang down over it to keep it dry.

I fixed my umbrella also in a step at the stern, like a mast, to stand over my head, and keep the heat of the sun off me, like an awning; and thus I every now and then took a little voyage upon the sea, but never went far out, nor far from the little creek, but at last, being eager to view the circumference of my little kingdom, I resolved upon my tour, and accordingly I victualled my ship for the voyage; putting in two dozen of my loaves (cakes I should rather call them) of barley-bread; an earthen pot full of parched rice, a foot I eat a great deal of; a little bottle of rum, half a goat, and powder with shot for killing more, and two large watch-coats, of those which, as I mentioned before, I had saved out of the seamen's chests; these I took, one to lie upon, and the other to cover me in the night.

It was the sixth of November, in the sixth year of my reign, or my captivity, which you please, that I set out on this voyage, and I found it much longer than I expected: for though the island itself was not very large, yet when I came to the east side of it, I found a great ledge of rocks lie out about two leagues into the sea, some above water, some under it; and beyond this a shoal of sand, lying dry half a league more; so that I was obliged to go a great way out to sea to double that point.

When I first discovered them, I was going to give over my enterprise, and come back again, not knowing how far it might oblige me to go out to sea, and above all, doubting how I should get back again; so I came to an anchor, for I had made me a kind of an anchor, with a piece of broken grapping which I got out of the ship.

Having secured my boat, I took my gun, and went on shore, climbing up a hill, which seemed to overlook that point, where saw the full extent of it, and resolved to venture.

In my viewing the sea from that hill where I stood, I perceived a strong, and indeed, a most furious current, which ran to the *east*, and even came close to the point ; and I took the more notice of it, because I saw there might be some danger, that when came into it, I might be carried out to sea by the strength of it, and not be able to make the island again. And indeed, had not gotten first upon this hill, I believe it would have been so ; or there was the same current on the other side of the island, only that it set it off at a farther distance ; and I saw there was a strong eddy under the shore ; so I had nothing to do but to get out of the first current, and I should presently be in an eddy.

I lay here, however, two days ; because the wind blowing pretty fresh (*E. at S. E.* and that being just contrary to the said current) made a great breach of the sea upon the point ; so that

that I had no prospect before me but of perishing ; not by the sea, for that was calm enough, but of starving for hunger. I had indeed found a tortoise on the shore, as big almost as I could lift, and had tossed it into the boat ; and I had a great jar of fresh water, that is to say, one of my earthen pots ; but what was all this to being driven into the vast ocean, where, to be sure, there was no shore, no main land or island, for a thousand leagues at least !

And now I saw how easy it was for the Providence of God to make the most miserable condition that mankind could be in worse. Now I looked back upon my desolate solitary island, as the most pleasant place in the world, and all the happiness my heart could wish for, was to be there again. I stretched out my hands to it with eager wishes ; O happy desert, said I, I shall never see thee more ! O miserable creature ! said I, whither am I going ? Then I reproached myself with my unthankful temper, and how I had repined at my solitary condition ; and now what would I give to be on shore there again ! Thus we never see the true state of our condition, till it is illustrated to us by its contraries ; nor know how to value what we enjoy, but by the want of it. It is scarce possible to imagine the consternation I was now in, being driven from my beloved island (for so it appeared to me now to be) into the wide ocean, almost two leagues, and in the utmost despair of ever recovering it again : however, I worked hard, till indeed my strength was almost exhausted ; and kept my boat as much to the *northward*, that is, towards the side of the current which the eddy lay on, as possibly I could ; when about noon, as the sun passed the meridian, I thought I felt a little breeze of wind in my face, springing up from the *S. S. E.* This cheered my heart a little, and especially when in about half an hour more, it blew a pretty small gentle gale. By this time I was gotten at a sightful distance from the island ; and, had the least cloud or hazy weather intervened, I had been undone another way too ;

or I had no compass on board, and should never have known how to have steered towards the island, if I had but once lost sight of it; but the weather continuing clear, I applied myself to get up my mast again, and spread my sail, standing away to the *north* as much as possible, to get out of the current.

Just as I had set my mast and sail, and the boat began to stretch away, I saw even by the clearness of the water, some alteration of the current was near; for where the current was so strong, the water was foul; but perceiving the water clear, I found the current abate, and presently I found to the *east*, at about half a mile, a breach of the sea upon some rocks; these rocks I found caused the current to part again; and as the main stress of it ran away more *southerly*, leaving the rocks to the *north-east*, so the other returned by the repulse of the rock, and made a strong eddy, which ran back again to the *north-west* with a very sharp stream.

They who know what it is to have a reprieve brought to them,

away, and that on the north, which lay about two leagues on the other side; I say, between these two, in the west of the island, I found the water at least still, and running no way; and having still a breeze of wind fair for me, I kept on steering directly for the island, though not making such fresh way as I did before.

About four o'clock in the evening, being then within about a league of the island, I found the point of the rocks which occasioned this distance, stretching out as is described before, to the southward, and casting off the current more southerly, had of course made another eddy to the north; and this I found very strong, but not directly setting the way my course lay, which was due west, but almost full north. However, having a fresh gale, I stretched across this eddy, slanting north-west, and in about an hour came within about a mile of the shore: it being smooth water, I soon got to land.

When I was on shore, I fell on my knees, and gave God thanks for my deliverance, resolving to lay aside all thoughts of my deliverance by my boat; and refreshing myself with such things as I had, I brought my boat close to the shore, in a little cove that I had espied under some trees, and laid me down to sleep, being quite spent with the labour and fatigue of the voyage.

I was now at a great loss which way to get home with my boat; I had run so much hazard, and knew too much the case, to think of attempting it by the way I went out; and what might be at the other side (I mean the west side) I knew not, nor had I any mind to run any more ventures; so I only resolved in the morning to make my way westward along the shore, and to see if there was no creek where I might lay up my frigate in safety, so as to have her again if I wanted her. In about three miles, or thereabouts, coasting the shore, I came to a very good inlet, or bay, about a mile over, which narrowed till I came to a very little rivulet, or brook, where I found a con-

venient harbour for my boat, and where she lay as if she had been in a little dock made on purpose for her: here I put in, and having stowed my boat very safe, I went on shore to look about me, and see where I was.

I soon found I had but a little passed by the place where I had been before when I travelled on foot to that shore; so taking nothing out of my boat but my gun and my umbrella, for it was exceeding hot, I began my march: the way was comfortable enough after such a voyage as I had been upon, and I reached my old bower in the evening, where I found every thing standing as I left it; for I always kept it in good order, being, as I said before, my country-house.

I got over the fence, and laid me down in the shade to rest my limbs, for I was very weary, and fell asleep: but judge you, if you can, that read my story, what a surprise I must be in, when I was awaked out of my sleep by a voice calling me by my name several times, *Robin, Robin, Robin Crusoe, poor Robin*

However, even though I knew it was the parrot, and that indeed it could be nobody else, it was a good while before I could compose myself. First, I was amazed how the creature got thither, and then how he should just keep about the place, and no where else: but as I was well satisfied it could be nobody but honest Poll, I got it over; and holding out my hand, and calling him by his name, Poll, the sociable creature came to me, and sat upon my thumb, as he used to do, and continued talking to me, *Poor Robin Crusoe, and how did I come here? and where had I been?* just as if he had been overjoyed to see me again; and so I carried him home along with me.

I had now had enough of rambling to sea for some time, and had enough to do for many days to sit still, and reflect upon the danger I had been in. I would have been very glad to have had my boat again on my side of the island, but I knew not how it was practicable to get it about. As to the east side of the island, which I had gone round, I knew well enough there was no venturing that way; my very heart would shrink, and my very blood run chill, but to think of it; and as to the other side of the island, I did not know how it might be there; but supposing the current ran with the same force against the shore at the east, as it passed by it on the other, I might run the same risk of being driven down the stream, and carried by the island, as I had been before of being carried away from it: so with these thoughts I contented myself to be without any boat, though it had been the product of so many months labour to make it, and of so many more to get it into the sea.

In this government of my temper I remained near a year, lived a very sedate retired life, as you may well suppose; and my thoughts being very much composed, as to my condition, and fully comforted in resigning myself to the dispensations of Providence, I thought I lived really very happily in all things except that of society.

I improved myself, in this time, in all the mechanic exercises which my necessities put me upon applying myself to ; and I believe could, upon occasion, have made a very good *carpenter*, especially considering how few tools I had.

Besides this, I arrived at an unexpected perfection in my earthen-ware, and contrived well enough to make them with a wheel, which I found infinitely easier and better, because I made things round and shapeable, which before were filthy things indeed to look on. But I think I never was more vain of my own performance, or more joyful for any thing I found out, than for my being able to make a tobacco-pipe ; and though it was a very ugly clumsy thing when it was done, and only burnt red like other earthen-ware, yet as it was hard and firm, and would draw the smoke, I was exceedingly comforted with it ; for I had been always used to smoke, and there were pipes in the ship, but I forgot them at first, not knowing there was tobacco in the island ; and afterwards when I searched the ship again, I could

no more powder; that is to say, how I should do to kill any goats. I had, as I observed, in the third year of my being here, kept a young kid, and bred her tame; I was in hopes of getting a he-kid, but I could not by any means bring it to pass, till my kid grew an old goat; and I could never find in my heart to kill her, till she died at last of mere age.

But being now in the eleventh year of my residence, and, as I have said, my ammunition growing low, I set myself to study some art to trap and snare the goats, to see whether I could not catch some of them alive; and particularly I wanted a she goat great with young.

To this purpose I made snares to hamper them; and believe they were more than once taken in them; but my tackle was not good, for I had no wire, and always found them broken, and my bait devoured.

At length I resolved to try a pit-fall; so I dug several large pits in the earth, in places where I had observed the goats used to feed, and over these pits I placed hurdles of my own making too, with a great weight upon them; and several times I put ears of barley, and dry rice, without setting the trap; and I could easily perceive that the goats had gone in, and eaten up the corn, for I could see the mark of their feet: at length, I set three traps in one night, and going the next morning, I found them all standing, and yet the bait eaten and gone. This was very discouraging; however, I altered my trap; and, not to trouble you with particulars, going one morning to see my traps, I found in one of them a large old he goat; and, in one of the others, three kids, a male and two females.

As in the old one, I knew not what to do with him; he was so fierce I durst not go into the pit to him; that is to say, to go about to bring him away alive, which was what I wanted; I could have killed him, but that was not my business, nor would it answer my end; so I let him out, and he ran away as if

he had been frightened out of his wits ; but I did not then know what I afterwards learned, that hunger would tame a lion : if I had let him stay there three or four days without food, and then have carried him some water to drink, and then a little corn, he would have been as tame as one of the kids ; for they are mighty sagacious, tractable creatures, where they are well used.

However, for the present I let him go, knowing no better at that time ; then I went to the three kids ; and taking them one by one, I tied them with strings together ; and with some difficulty brought them all home.

It was a good while before they would feed ; but throwing them some sweet corn, it tempted them, and they began to be tame : and now I found that if I expected to supply myself with goat's-flesh, when I had no powder or shot left, breeding some up tame was my only way, when perhaps I might have them about my house like a flock of sheep.

But then it presently occurred to me, that I must keep the

them I began my enclosing of this piece of ground in such a manner, that my hedge, or pale, must have been at least two miles about; nor was the madness of it so great as to the compass; for if it was ten miles about, I was like to have time enough to do it in; but I did not consider, that my goats would be as wild in so much compass, as if they had had the whole island; and I should have so much room to chase them in, that I should never catch them.

My hedge was began and carried on, I believe, about fifty yards, when this thought occurred to me; so I presently stopped short, and for the first beginning I resolved to enclose a piece of about 150 yards in length, and 100 yards in breadth, which as I would maintain as many as I should have in any reasonable time, so, as my flock increased, I could add more ground to my enclosure.

This was acting with some prudence, and I went to work with courage. I was about three months hedging in the first piece; and, till I had done it, I tethered the three kids in the best part of it, and used them to feed as near me as possible, to make them familiar, and very often I would go and carry them some ears of barley, or a handful of rice, and feed them out of my hand; so that after my enclosure was finished, and I let them loose, they would follow me up and down, bleating after me for a handful of corn.

This answered my end, and in about a year and a half I had a flock of about twelve goats, kids and all; and in two years more I had three-and-forty, besides several that I took and killed for my food; and after that I enclosed five several pieces of ground to feed them in, with little pens to drive them into, to take them as I wanted them; and gates out of one piece of ground into another.

But this was not all; for now I not only had goat's-flesh to feed on when I pleased, but milk too, a thing which indeed in

my beginning I did not so much as think of, and which, when it came into my thoughts, was really an agreeable surprise; for now I set up my dairy, and had sometimes a gallon or two of milk in a day. And as Nature, who gives supplies of food to every creature, dictates even naturally how to make use of it, so I, that had never milked a cow, much less a goat, or seen butter or cheese made, very readily and handily, though after a great many essays and miscarriages, made me both butter and cheese at last, and never wanted it afterwards.

How mercifully can our great Creator treat his creatures, even in those conditions in which they seemed to be overwhelmed in destruction! How can he sweeten the bitterest providences, and give us cause to praise him for dungeons and prisons! What a table was here spread for me in a wilderness, where I saw nothing but first but to perish for hunger!

It would have made a stoic smile, to have seen me and my little family sit down to dinner: there was my majesty, the prince and

obliged to shoot them, and did kill a great many ; at length they left me with this attendance, and in this plentiful manner I lived ; neither could I be said to want any thing but society, and of that, in some time after this, I was like to have too much.

I was something impatient, as I have observed, to have the use of my boat, though very loth to run any more hazard : and therefore sometimes I sat contriving ways to get her about the island, and at other times I sat myself down contented enough without her. But I had a strange uneasiness in my mind to go down to the point of the island, where, as I have said in my last ramble, I went up the hill to see how the shore lay, and how the current set, that I might see what I had to do : this inclination increased upon me every day ; and at length I resolved to travel thither by land, and following the edge of the shore, I did so : but had any one in *England* been to meet such a man as I was, it must either have frightened them, or raised a great deal of laughter ; and as I frequently stood still to look at myself, I could not but smile at the notion of my travelling through *Yorkshire* with such an equipage, and in such a dress. Be pleased to take a sketch of my figure, as follows :

I had a great high shapeless cap, made of goat's-skin, with a flap hanging down behind, as well to keep the sun from me, as to shoot the rain off from running into my neck ; nothing being so hurtful in these climates, as the rain upon the flesh under the clothes.

I had a short jacket of goat's-skin, the skirts coming down to about the middle of my thighs : and a pair of open-kneed breeches of the same : the breeches were made of the skin of an old he-goat, whose hair hung down such a length on either side, that, like *pantaloons*, it reached to the middle of my legs. Stockings and shoes I had none ; but I made me a pair of something, I scarce know what to call them, like buskins, to flap over my legs, and lace on either side like spatterdashers ; but of a more buskinous shape, as indeed were all the rest of my clothes.

I had on a broad belt of goat's-skin dried, which I drew together with two thongs of the same, instead of buckles; and on a kind of frog on either side of this, instead of a sword and dagger, hung a little saw and hatchet; one on one side, one on the other: I had another belt not so broad, and fastened in the same manner, which hung over my shoulder; and at the end of it, under my left arm, hung two pouches, both made of goat's-skin too; in one of which hung my powder, in the other my shot: at my back I carried my basket, on my shoulder my gun, and over my head a great clumsy ugly goat's-skin umbrella, but which, after all, was the most necessary thing I had about me, next to my gun: as for my face, the colour of it was really not *o Mulatto* like, as one might expect from a man not at all careful of it, and living within nine or ten degrees of the *equinox*. My beard I had once suffered to grow till it was about a quarter of a yard long; but as I had both scissars and razors sufficient, had cut it pretty short, except what grew on my upper lip,

my look, as I said above, I was surprised to see the sea all smooth and quiet ; no rippling, no motion, no current, any more there than in other places.

I was at a strange loss to understand this, and resolved to spend some time in the observing of it, to see if nothing from the sets of the tide had occasioned it ; but I was presently convinced how it was ; viz. that the tide of ebb setting from the west, and joining with the current of waters from some great river on the shore, must be the occasion of this current ; and that according as the wind blew more forcibly from the west, or from the north, this current came nearer, or went farther from the shore ; for, waiting thereabouts till evening, I went up to the rock again, and then the tide of ebb being made, I plainly saw the current again as before, only that it ran farther off, being near half a league from the shore ; whereas in my case, it set close upon the shore, and hurried me and my *caroe* along with it, which at another time it would not have done.

This observation convinced me, that I had nothing to do but to observe the ebbing and the flowing of the tide, and I might very easily bring my boat about the island again : but when I began to think of putting it in practice, I had such a terror upon my spirits at the remembrance of the danger I had been in, that I could not think of it again with any patience ; but on the contrary, I took up another resolution, which was more safe, though more laborious ; and this was, that I would build, or rather make me another *peragua*, or *caroe* ; and so have one for one side of the island, and one for the other.

You are to understand, that now I had, as I may call it, two plantations in the island ; one my little fortification or tent, with the wall about it under the rock, with the cave behind me, which by this time I had enlarged into several apartments or caves, one within another. One of these, which was the driest and largest, and had a door yet beyond my wall or fortification, that is to

ay, beyond where my wall joined to the rock, was all filled up with large earthen pots, of which I have given an account, and with fourteen or fifteen great baskets, which would hold five or six bushels each, where I laid up my stores of provision, especially my corn, some in the ear cut off short from the straw, and the other rubbed out with my hands.

As for my wall, made *as before*, with long stakes or piles, those piles grew all like trees, and were by this time grown so big, and spread so very much, that there was not the least appearance, to any one's view, of any habitation behind them.

Near this dwelling of mine, but a little farther within the land, and upon lower ground, lay my two pieces of corn ground; which I kept duly cultivated and sowed, and which duly yielded me their harvest in its season; and whenever I had occasion for more corn, I had more land adjoining as fit as that.

Besides this, I had my country-seat, and I had now a tolerable plantation there also; for first, I had my little bower, as I called

say, my goats: and as I had taken an inconceivable deal of pains to fence and enclose this ground, I was so uneasy to see it kept entire, lest the goats should break through, that I never left off, till with infinite labour I had stuck the outside of the hedge so full of small stakes, and so near to one another, that it was rather a pale than a hedge, and there was scarce room to put a hand through between them, wh.ch afterwards, when those stakes grew, as they all did in the next rainy season, made the enclosure strong, like a wall, indeed stronger than any wall.

This will testify for me that I was not idle, and that I spared no pains to bring to pass whatever appeared necessary for my comfortable support; for I considered the keeping up a breed of tame creatures thus at my hand, would be a living magazine of flesh, milk, butter, and cheese, for me, as long as I lived in the place, if it were to be forty years; and that keeping them in my reach, depended entirely upon my perfecting my enclosures to such a degree that I might be sure of keeping them together; which by this method indeed I so effectually secured, that when these little stakes began to grow, I had planted them so very thick, I was forced to pull some of them up again.

In this place also I had my grapes growing, which I principally depended on for my winter store of raisins, and which I never failed to preserve very carefully, as the best, and most agreeable dainty of my whole diet; and indeed they were not only agreeable, but physical, wholesome, nourishing, and refreshing to the last degree.

As this was also about half way between my other habitation and the place where I had laid up my boat, I generally staid and lay here in my way thither; for I used frequently to visit my boat, and I kept all things about or belonging to her in very good order: sometimes I went out in her to divert myself, but no more hazardous voyages would I go, nor scarce ever above a stone's cast or two from the shore, I was so apprehensive of

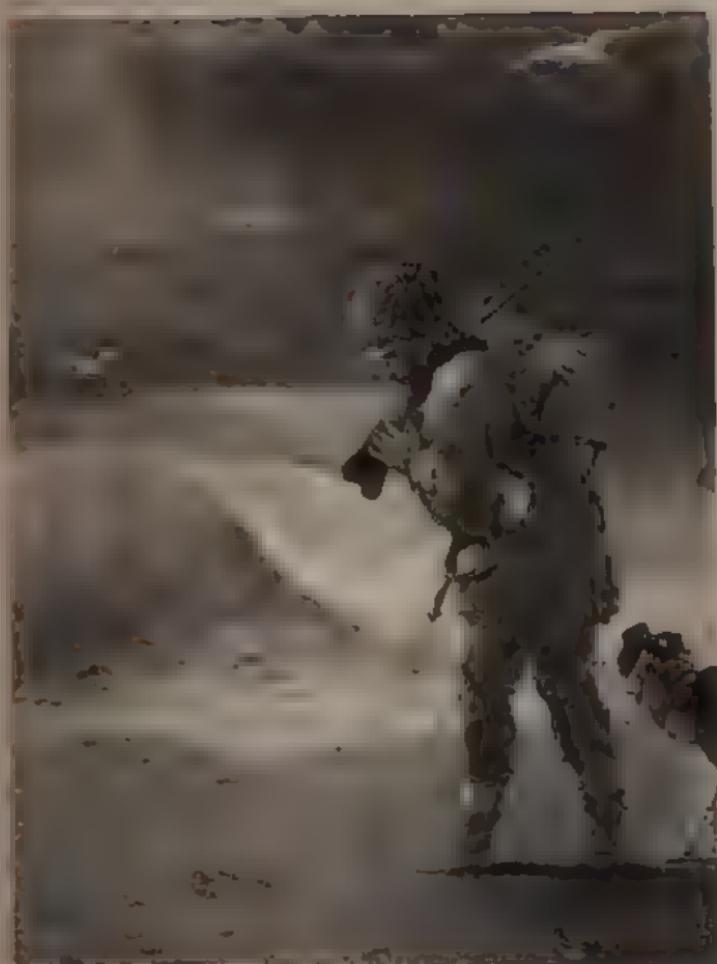
being hurried out of my knowledge again by the currents, or winds, or any other accident. But now I come to a new scene of my life.

It happened one day about noon, going towards my boat, I was exceedingly surprised with the print of a man's naked foot on the shore, which was very plain to be seen in the sand. I stood like one thunderstruck, or as if I had seen an apparition.

I listened, I looked round me, I could hear nothing, nor see anything; I went up to a rising ground to look farther. I went up the shore, and down the shore, but it was all one, I could see no other impression but that one. I went to it again to see if there were any more, and to observe if it might not be my fancy, but there was no room for that, for there was exactly the very print of a foot, toes, heel, and every part of a foot: how it came thither I knew not, nor could in the least imagine. But after innumerable fluttering thoughts, like a man perfectly confused, and out of myself, I came home to my fortification, not feeling, as we

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thing contrary to the nature of such things, and especially to the usual practice of all creatures in fear. But I was so embarrassed with my own frightful ideas of the thing, that I formed nothing but dismal imaginations to myself, even though I was now a great way off it. Sometimes I fancied it must be the devil; and reason joined in with me upon this supposition. For how should any other thing in human shape come into the place? Where was the vessel that brought them? What marks were there of any other footsteps? And how was it possible a man should come there? But then to think that *Satan* should take human shape upon him in such a place, where there could be no manner of occasion for it, but to leave the print of his foot behind him, and that even for no purpose too (for he could not be sure I should see it), this was an amazement the other way. I considered that the devil might have found out abundance of other ways to have terrified me, than this of the single print of a foot. That as I lived quite on the other side of the island, he would never have been so simple to leave a mark in a place where it was ten thousand to one whether I should ever see it or not; and in the sand too, which the first surge of the sea upon a high wind would have defaced entirely. All this seemed inconsistent with the thing itself, and with all notions we usually entertain of the subtlety of the devil.

Abundance of such things as these assisted to argue me out of all apprehensions of its being the devil. And I presently concluded that it must be some more dangerous creature; etc. That it must be some of the savages of the main land over against me, who had wandered out to sea in their canoes, and, either driven by the currents, or by contrary winds, had made the island; and had been on shore, but were gone away again to sea, being as loth, perhaps, to have staid in this desolate island, as I would have been to have had them.

While these reflections were rolling upon my mind, I was very

## LIFE AND ADVENTURES

ankful in my thought, that I was so happy as not to be there-  
outs at that time, or that they did not see my boat, by which  
ey would have concluded, that some inhabitants had been in  
e place, and perhaps have searched farther for me. Then ter-  
ble thoughts racked my imaginations about their having found  
y boat, and that there were people here; and that if so, I  
ould certainly have them come again in greater numbers, and  
avour me; that if it should happen so that they should not find  
e, yet they would find my enclosure, destroy all my corn, carry  
way all my flock of tame goats, and I should perish at last for  
ere want.

Thus my fear banished all my religious hope: all that former  
confidence in God which was founded upon such wonderful ex-  
perience as I had had of his goodness, now vanished; as if he  
at had fed me by miracle hitherto, could not preserve by his  
power the provision which he had made for me by his goodness.  
reproached myself with my easiness, that would not sow any

one whom Heaven thought not worthy to be numbered among the living, or to appear among the rest of his creatures; that to have seen one of my own species, would have seemed to me a raising me from death to life, and the greatest blessing that Heaven itself, next to the supreme blessing of salvation, could bestow: *I say*, that I should now tremble at the very apprehensions of seeing a man, and was ready to sink into the ground, at but the shadow, or silent appearance of a man's having set his foot on the island!

Such is the uneven state of human life; and it afforded me a great many curious speculations afterwards, when I had a little recovered my first surprise. I considered that this was the station of life the infinitely wise and good providence of God had determined for me; that as I could not foresee what the ends of divine wisdom might be in all this, so I was not to dispute his sovereignty, who, as I was his creature, had an undoubted right, by creation, to govern and dispose of me absolutely as he thought fit; and who, as I was a creature who had offended him, had likewise a judicial right to condemn me to what punishment he thought fit; and that it was my part to submit to bear his indignation, because I had sinned against him.

I then reflected that God, who was not only righteous, but omnipotent, as he had thought fit thus to punish and afflict me, so he was able to deliver me; that if he did not think fit to do it, it was my unquestioned duty to resign myself absolutely and entirely to his will. And, on the other hand, it was my duty also to hope in him, pray to him, and quietly to attend the dictates and directions of his daily providence.

These thoughts took me up many hours, days, nay, I may say, weeks and months; and one particular effect of my cogitations on this occasion I cannot omit; *viz.* one morning early, lying in my bed, and filled with thoughts about my danger from the appearance of savages, I found it discomposed me very much;

pon which those words of the scripture came into my thoughts,  
*Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalst glorify me.*

Upon this, rising cheerfully out of my bed, my heart was not only comforted, but I was guided and encouraged to pray earnestly to God for deliverance. When I had done praying, I took p my bible, and opening it to read, the first words that presented to me, were, *Wait on the Lord, and be of good cheer, and he shall strengthen thy heart: wait, I say, on the Lord.* It is impossible to express the comfort this gave me; and in return, thankfully laid down the book, and was no more sad; at least, ot on that occasion.

In the middle of these cogitations, apprehensions, and reflections, it came into my thoughts one day, that all this might be mere chimera of my own, and that this foot might be the print f my own foot, when I came on shore from my boat. This cheered me up a little too, and I began to persuade myself it

I heartening myself therefore with the belief, that this was nothing but the print of one of my own feet, (and so I might be truly said to start at my own shadow), I began to go abroad again, and went to my country-house to milk my flock ; but to see with what fear I went forward, how often I looked behind me, how I was ready, every now and then, to lay down my basket, and run for my life ; it would have made any one have thought I was haunted with an evil conscience, or that I had been lately most terribly frightened ; and so indeed I had.

However, as I went down thus two or three days, and having seen nothing, I began to be a little bolder, and to think there was really nothing in it but my own imagination ; but I could not persuade myself fully of this, till I should go down to the shore again, and see this print of a foot, and measure it by my own, and see if there was any similitude or fitness, that I might be assured it was my own foot. But when I came to the place, *first*, it appeared evidently to me, that when I laid up my boat, I could not possibly be on shore any where thereabouts. *Secondly*, when I came to measure the mark with my own foot, I found my foot not so large by a great deal. Both these things filled my head with new imaginations, and gave me the vapours again to the highest degree : so that I shook with cold, like one in an ague, and I went home again, filled with the belief that some man or men had been on shore there ; or, in short, that the island was a habited, and I might be surprised before I was aware ; and what course to take for my security, I knew not.

O what ridiculous resolutions men take, when possessed with fear ! It deprives them of the use of those means which reason affers for their relief. The first thing I proposed to myself was, to throw down my enclosures, and turn all my tame cattle wild into the woods, that the enemy might not find them, and then frequent the island in prospect of the same, or the like booty ; then to the simple thing of digging up my two corn-fields, that

They might not find such a grain there, and still to be prompted to frequent the island ; then to demolish my bower and tent, that they might not see any vestiges of my habitation, and be prompted to look farther, in order to find out the persons inhabiting.

These were the subjects of the first night's cogitation, after I was come home again, while the apprehensions which had so over-run my mind were fresh upon me, and my head was full of vapours, as above. Thus fear of danger is ten thousand times more terrifying than danger itself, when apparent to the eyes, and we find the burden of anxiety greater by much than the evil which we are anxious about ; but, which was worse than all this, I had not that relief in this trouble from the resignation I used to practise that I hoped to have. I looked, I thought, like *Saul*, who complained not only that the *Philistines* were upon him, but that God had forsaken him ; for I did not now take due ways to compose my mind, by crying to God in my distress, and

That I had lived here fifteen years now, and had not met with the least shadow or figure of any people before ; and that if at any time they should be driven here, it was probable they went away again as soon as ever they could, seeing they had never thought fit to fix there upon any occasion, to this time.

That the most I could suggest any danger from, was, from any such casual accidental landing of straggling people from the main, who, as it was likely, if they were driven hither, were here against their wills ; so they made no stay here, but went off again with all possible speed, seldom staying one night on shore, lest they should not have the help of the tides and day-light back again ; and that therefore I had nothing to do but to consider of some safe retreat, in case I should see any savages land upon the spot.

Now I began sorely to repent that I had dug my cave so large, as to bring a door through again, which door, as I said, came out beyond where my fortification joined to the rock. Upon maturely considering this, therefore, I resolved to draw me a second fortification, in the manner of a semicircle, at a distance from my wall, just where I had planted a double row of trees about twelve years before, of which I made mention : these trees having been planted so thick before, there wanted but a few piles to be driven between them, that they should be thicker and stronger, and my wall would be soon finished.

So that I had now a double wall, and my outer wall was thickened with pieces of timber, old cables, and every thing I could think of to make it strong ; having in it seven little holes, about as big as I might put my arm out at. In the inside of this I thickened my wall to about ten feet thick, continually bringing earth out of my cave, and laying it at the foot of the wall, and walking upon it ; and through the seven holes I contrived to plant the muskets, of which I took notice that I got even on shore out of the ship ; these, I say, I planted like my

cannon, and fitted them into frames that held them like a carriage, that so I could fire all the seven guns in two minutes time: this wall I was many a weary month in finishing, and yet never thought myself safe till it was done.

When this was done, I stuck all the ground without my wall, for a great way every way, as full with stakes or sticks of the osier-like wood, which I found so apt to grow, as they could well stand; insomuch that I believe I might set in near twenty thousand of them, leaving a pretty large space between them and my wall, that I might have room to see an enemy, and they might have no shelter from the young trees, if they attempted to approach my outer wall.

Thus in two years time I had a thick grove; and in five or six years time I had a wood before my dwelling, grown so monstrous thick and strong, that it was indeed perfectly impassable; and no man of what kind soever would ever imagine that there was any thing beyond it, much less a habitation: as for the way

hunting after the wild ones ; and I was loth to lose the advantage of them, and to have them all to nurse up over again.

To this purpose, after long consideration, I could think but of two ways to preserve them : one was to find another convenient place to dig a cave under ground, and to drive them into it every night ; and the other was to enclose two or three little bits of land, remote from one another, and as much concealed as I could, where I might keep about half a dozen young goats in each place ; so that if any disaster happened to the flock in general, I might be able to raise them again with little trouble and time : and this, though it would require a great deal of time and labour, I thought was the most rational design.

Accordingly I spent some time to find out the most retired parts of the island ; and I pitched upon one, which was as private indeed as my heart could wish ; for it was a little damp piece of ground in the middle of the hollow and thick woods, where, as is observed, I almost lost myself once before, endeavouring to come back that way from the eastern part of the island : here I found a clear piece of land, near three acres, so surrounded with woods that it was almost an enclosure by nature ; at least it did not want near so much labour to make it so, as the other pieces of ground I had worked so hard at.

I immediately went to work with this piece of ground, and in less than a month's time I had so fenced it round, that my flock or herd, call it which you please, which were not so wild now as at first they might be supposed to be, were well enough secured in it. So without any farther delay, I removed ten she-goats and two he-goats to this piece ; and when there, I continued to perfect the fence, till I had made it as secure as the other, which, however, I did at more leisure, and it took me up more time by a great deal.

All this labour I was at the expense of, purely from my apprehensions on the account of the print of a man's foot which I had

seen; for as yet, I never saw any human creature come near the island; and I had now lived two years under these uneasinesses, which indeed made my life much less comfortable than it was before; as may well be imagined, by any who know what it is to live in the constant snare of *the fear of man*: and this I must observe with grief too, that the discomposure of my mind had too great impressions also upon the religious part of my thoughts; for the dread and terror of falling into the hands of savages and cannibals lay so upon my spirits, that I seldom found myself in a due temper for application to my Maker; at least, not with the sedate calmness and resignation of soul which I was wont to do. I rather prayed to God as under great affliction and pressure of mind, surrounded with danger, and in expectation every night of being murdered and devoured before the morning; and I must testify from my experience, that a temper of peace, thankfulness, love and affection, is much more the proper frame for prayer than that of terror and discomposure; and that under the

able to look any longer: whether it was a boat, or not, I do not know; but as I descended from the hill, I could see no more of it, so I gave it over; only I resolved to go no more without a perspective glass in my pocket.

When I was come down the hill, to the end of the island, where indeed I had never been before, I was presently convinced, that the seeing the print of a man's foot, was not such a strange thing in the island as I imagined; and, but that it was a special Providence that I was cast upon the side of the island where the savages never came, I should easily have known, that nothing was more frequent than for the *canoes* from the main, when they happened to be a little too far out at sea, to shoot over to that side of the island for harbour; likewise, as they often met and fought in their *canoes*, the victors, having taken any prisoners, would bring them over to this shore, where, according to their dreadful customs, being all *cannibals*, they would kill and eat them: of which hereafter.

When I was come down the hill to the shore, as I said above, being the *S. W.* point of the island, I was perfectly confounded and amazed; nor is it possible for me to express the horror of my mind, at seeing the shore spread with skulls, hands, feet, and other bones of human bodies; and particularly I observed a place where there had been a fire made, and a circle dug in the earth, like a cock pit, where it is supposed the savage wretches had sat down to their inhuman feastings upon the bodies of their fellow-creatures.

I was so astonished with the sight of these things, that I entertained no notions of any danger to myself from it for a long while; all my apprehensions were buried in the thoughts of such a pitch of inhuman, hellish brutality, and the horror of the degeneracy of human nature; which, though I had heard of often, till I never had so near a view of before: in short, I turned away my face from the horrid spectacle, my stomach grew sick, and

I was just at the point of fainting, when nature discharged the disorder from my stomach, and, having vomited with an uncommon violence, I was a little relieved, but could not bear to stay in the place a moment; so I got me up the hill again with all the speed I could, and walked on towards my own habitation.

When I came a little out of that part of the island, I stood still awhile as amazed; and then recovering myself, I looked up with the utmost affection of my soul, and, with a flood of tears in my eyes, gave God thanks, that had cast my first lot in a part of the world where I was distinguished from such dreadful creatures as these; and that though I had esteemed my present condition very miserable, had yet given me so many comforts in it, that I had still more to give thanks for than to complain of; and this above all, that I had, even in this miserable condition, been comforted with the knowledge of himself, and the hope of his blessing, which was a felicity more than sufficiently equivalent to all the misery which I had suffered or could suffer.

custom of their devouring and eating one another up, that I continued pensive and sad, and kept close within my own circle for almost two years after this: when I say my own circle, I mean by it my three plantations, *viz.* my castle, my country-seat, which I called my bower, and my enclosure in the woods; nor did I look after this for any other use than as an enclosure for my goats; for the aversion which nature gave me to these hellish wretches was such, that I was as fearful of seeing them as of seeing the devil himself; nor did I so much as go to look after my boat in all this time, but began rather to think of making me another; for I could not think of ever making any more attempts to bring the other boat round the island to me, lest I should meet with some of those creatures at sea, in which, if I had happened to have fallen into their hands, I knew what would have been my lot.

Time, however, and the satisfaction I had, that I was in no danger of being discovered by these people, began to wear off my uneasiness about them; and I began to live just in the same composed manner as before; only with this difference, that I used more caution, and kept my eyes more about me than I did before, lest I should happen to be seen by any of them; and particularly, I was more cautious of firing my gun, lest any of them being on the island should happen to hear it; and it was therefore a very good providence to me, that I had furnished myself with a tame breed of goats, that I had no need to hunt any more about the woods, or shoot at them; and if I did catch any more of them after this, it was with traps and snares, as I had done before: so that for two years after this, I believe I never fired my gun once off, though I never went out without it; and, which was more, as I had saved three pistols out of the ship, I always carried them out with me, or at least two of them, sticking them in my goat skin belt. I likewise furnished up one of the great cutlasses that I had out of the ship, and made me a

belt to put it in also ; so that I was now a most formidable fellow to look at when I went abroad, if you add to the former description of myself, the particular of two pistols, and a great broad-sword hanging at my side in a belt, but without a scabbard.

Things going on thus, as I have said, for some time, I seemed, excepting these cautions, to be reduced to my former calm sedate way of living ; all these things tended to show me more and more how far my condition was from being miserable, compared to some others ; nay, to many other particulars of life, which it might have pleased God to have made my lot. It put me upon reflecting, how little repining there would be among mankind, at any condition of life, if people would rather compare their condition with those that are worse, in order to be thankful, than be always comparing them with those which are better, to assist their murmurings and complainings.

As in my present condition there were not really many things which I wanted, so indeed I thought that the frights I had been in about these savage wretches, and the concern I had been in for my own preservation, had taken off the edge of my invention for my own conveniences ; and I had dropt a good design, which I had once bent my thoughts upon ; and that was, to try if I could not make some of my barley into malt, and then try to brew myself some beer : this was really a whimsical thought, and I reproved myself often for the simplicity of it ; for I presently saw there would be the want of several things necessary to the making my beer, that it would be impossible for me to supply ; as, first, casks to preserve it in, which was a thing that, as I have observed already, I could never compass ; no, though I spent not many days, but weeks, nay months, in attempting it, but to no purpose. In the next place, I had no hops to make it keep, no yeast to make it work, no copper or kettle to make it boil ; and yet, had not all these things intervened, I mean the

frights and terrors I was in about the savages, I had undertaken it, and perhaps brought it to pass too; for I seldom gave any thing over without accomplishing it, when I once had it in my head enough to begin it.

But my invention now ran quite another way; for night and day I could think of nothing but how I might destroy some of these monsters in their cruel bloody entertainment, and if possible, save the victim they should bring hither to destroy. It would take up a larger volume than this whole work is intended to be, to set down all the contrivances I hatched, or rather brooded upon in my thoughts, for the destroying these creatures, or at least frightening them, so as to prevent their coming hither any more; but all was abortive; nothing could be possible to take effect, unless I was to be there to do it myself; and what could one man do among them, when perhaps there might be twenty or thirty of them together, with their darts, or their bows and arrows, with which they could shoot as true to a mark as I could with my gun?

Sometimes I contrived to dig a hole under the place where they made their fire, and put in five or six pounds of gunpowder, which when they kindled their fire, would consequently take fire, and blow up all that was near it; but, as in the first place I should be very loth to waste so much powder upon them, my wort being now within the quantity of a harral, so neither could I be sure of its going off at any certain time, when it might surprise them; and, at best, that it would do little more than just blow the fire about their ears, and fright them, but not sufficient to make them forsake the place; so I laid it aside, and then proposed, that I would place myself in ambush, in some convenient place, with my three guns all double-loaded, and in the middle of their bloody ceremony let fly at them, when I should be sure to kill or wound perhaps two or three at every shot; and then falling in upon them with my three pistols and my

sword, I made no doubt but that, if there were twenty, I should kill them all: this fancy pleased my thoughts for some weeks, and I was so full of it that I often dreamt of it; and sometimes, that I was just going to let fly at them in my sleep.

I went so far with it in my indignation, that I employed myself several days to find out proper places to put myself in ambuscade, as I said, to watch for them; and I went frequently to the place itself, which was now grown more familiar to me; and especially while my mind was thus filled with thoughts of revenge, and of a bloody putting twenty or thirty of them to the sword, as I may call it, but the horror I had at the place, and at the signals of the barbarous wretches devouring one another, abated my malice.

Well, at length I found a place in the side of the hill, where I was satisfied I might securely wait till I saw any of the boats coming, and might then, even before they would be ready to come on shore, convey myself unseen into thickets of trees, in one of which there was a hollow large enough to conceal me entirely; and where I might sit, and observe all their bloody doings, and take my full aim at their heads, when they were so close together, as that it would be next to impossible that I should miss my shoot, or that I could fail wounding three or four of them at the first shoot.

In this place then I resolved to fix my design; and accordingly I prepared two muskets and my ordinary fowling piece. The two muskets I loaded with a brace of slugs each, and four or five smaller bullets, about the size of pistol-bullets, and the fowling-piece I loaded with near a handful of swan shot of the largest size; I also loaded my pistols with about four bullets each: and in this posture, well provided with ammunition for a second and third charge, I prepared myself for my expedition.

After I had thus laid the scheme for my design, and in my imagination put it in practice, I continually made my tour every

morning up to the top of the hill, which was from my castle, as I called it, about three miles or more, to see if I could observe any boats upon the sea, coming near the island, or standing over towards it ; but I began to tire of this hard duty, after I had for two or three months constantly kept my watch ; but came always back without any discovery, there having not in all that time been the least appearance, not only on or near the shore, but not on the whole ocean, so far as my eyes or glasses could reach every way.

As long as I kept up my daily tour to the hill to look out, so long also I kept up the vigour of my design, and my spirits seemed to be all the while in a suitable frame for so outrageous an execution, as the killing twenty or thirty naked savages, for an offence which I had not at all entered into a discussion of in my thoughts, any further than my passions were at first fired by the horror I conceived at the unnatural custom of the people of that country, who, it seems, had been suffered by Providence, in his wise disposition of the world, to have no other guide than that of their own abominable and vitiated passions ; and consequently were left, and perhaps had been for some ages, to act such horrid things, and receive such dreadful customs, as nothing but nature, entirely abandoned of Heaven, and actuated by some hellish degeneracy, could have run them into ; but now, when, as I have said, I began to be weary of the fruitless excursion which I had made so long, and so far, every morning in vain ; so my opinion of the action itself began to alter, and I began, with cooler and calmer thoughts, to consider what it was I was going to engage in ; what authority or call I had to pretend to be judge and executioner upon these men as criminals, whom Heaven had thought fit for so many ages to suffer, unpunished, to go on, and to be, as it were, the executioners of his judgments upon one another ; also, how far these people were offenders against me, and what right I had to engage in the quarrel of that

blood which they shed promiscuously one upon another. I debated this very often with myself thus : How do I know what GOD himself judges in this particular case ? It is certain these people do not commit this as a crime ; it is not against their own consciences reprobating, or their light reproaching them. They do not know it to be an offence, and then commit it in defiance of divine justice, as we do in almost all the sins we commit. They think it no more a crime to kill a captive taken in war, than we do to kill an ox ; nor to eat human flesh, than we do to eat mutton.

When I had considered this a little, it followed necessarily, that I was certainly in the wrong in it ; that these people were not murderers in the sense that I had before condemned them in my thoughts, any more than those Christians were murderers, who often put to death the prisoners taken in battle, or more frequently, upon many occasions, put whole troops of men to the sword, without giving quarter, though they threw down their arms and submitted.

butchery, a bloody and unnatural piece of cruelty, unjustifiable either to God or man; and such, as for which the very name of a Spaniard is reckoned to be frightful and terrible to all people of humanity, or of Christian compassion; as if the kingdom of Spain were particularly eminent for the product of a race of men, who were without principles of tenderness, or the common bowels of pity to the miserable, which is reckoned to be a mark of a generous temper in the mind.

These considerations really put me to a pause, and to a kind of a full stop; and I began by little and little to be off my design, and to conclude I had taken a wrong measure in my resolutions to attack the savages; that it was not my business to meddle with them, unless they first attacked me, and this it was my business, if possible, to prevent; but that, if I were discovered and attacked, then I knew my duty.

On the other hand, I argued with myself, that this really was the way, not to deliver myself, but entirely to ruin and destroy myself; for unless I was sure to kill every one that not only should be on shore at that time, but that should ever come on shore afterwards, if but one of them escaped to tell their country people what had happened, they would come over again by thousands to revenge the death of their fellows; and I should only bring upon myself a certain destruction, which at present I had no manner of occasion for.

Upon the whole, I concluded, that neither in principles nor in policy, I ought one way or other to concern myself in this affair: that my business was by all possible means to conceal myself from them, and not to leave the least signal to them to guess by, that there were any living creatures upon the island, I mean of human shape.

Religion joined in with this prudential, and I was convinced how many ways that I was perfectly out of my duty, when I was laying all my bloody schemes for the destruction of innocent creatures, I mean innocent as to me; as to the crimes they were

guilty of towards one another, I had nothing to do with them ; they were national, and I ought to leave them to the justice of God, who is the governor of nations, and knows how by national punishments to make a just retribution for national offences ; and to bring public judgments upon those who offend in a public manner, by such ways as best please him.

This appeared so clear to me now, that nothing was a greater satisfaction to me, than that I had not been suffered to do a thing which I now saw so much reason to believe would have been no less a sin than that of wilful murder, if I had committed it ; and I gave most humble thanks on my knees to God, that had thus delivered me from blood-guiltiness, beseeching him to grant me the protection of his Providence, that I might not fall into the hands of barbarians ; or that I might not lay my hands upon them, unless I had a more clear call from Heaven to do it, in defence of my own life.

In this disposition I continued for near a year after this : and

All these I removed, that there might not be the least shadow of any discovery, or any appearance of any boat, or of any habitation upon the island.

Besides this, I kept myself, as I said, more retired than ever, and seldom went from my cell, other than upon my constant employment, *viz.* to milk my she-goats, and manage my little flock in the wood, which, as it was quite on the other part of the island, was quite out of danger: for certain it is, that these savage people, who sometimes haunted this island, never came with any thoughts of finding any thing here, and consequently never wandered off from the coast; and I doubt not but they might have been several times on shore, after my apprehensions of them had made me cautious, as well as before; and indeed I looked back with some horror upon the thoughts of what my condition would have been, if I had chopped upon them, and been discovered before that, when naked and unarmed, except with one gun, and that loaded often only with small shot. I walked every where peeping and peeping about the island, to see what I could get: what a surprise should I have been in, if, when I discovered the print of a man's foot, I had instead of that seen fifteen or twenty savages, and found them pursuing me, and, by the swiftness of their running, no possibility of my escaping them!

I he thoughts of this sometimes sunk my very soul within me, and distressed my mind so much, that I could not soon recover it; to think what I should have done, and how I not only should not have been able to resist them, but even should not have had presence of mind enough to do what I might have done; much less what now, after so much consideration and preparation, I might be able to do. Indeed, after serious thinking of these things, I should be very melancholy, and sometimes it would last a great while; but I resolved it at last all into thankfulness to that Providence which had delivered me from so many unseen dangers, and had kept me from those mischiefs, which I could

no way have been the agent in delivering myself from ; because I had not the least notion of any such thing depending, or the least supposition of it being possible.

This renewed a contemplation, which often had come to my thoughts in former time, when first I began to see the merciful dispositions of Heaven, in the dangers we run through in this life ; how wonderfully we are delivered when we know nothing of it : how, when we are in a *quandary* (as we call it), a doubt or hesitation, whether to go this way or that way, a secret hint shall direct us this way, when we intended to go that way ; nay, when sense, our own inclination, and perhaps business, has called to go the other way, yet a strange impression upon the mind, from we know not what springs, and by we know not what power, shall over-rule us to go this way ; and it shall afterwards appear, that had we gone that way which we should have gone, and even to our imagination ought to have gone, we should have been ruined and lost. Upon these, and many like reflec-

tainly they are a proof of the converse of spirits, and the secret communication between those embodied and those unembodied; and such a proof as can never be withheld; of which I shall have occasion to give some very remarkable instances, in the remainder of my solitary residence in this dismal place.

I believe the reader of this will not think strange, if I confess that these anxieties, these constant dangers I lived in, and the concern that was now upon me, put an end to all invention, and to all the contrivances that I had laid for my future accommodations and conveniences. I had the care of my safety more now upon my hands than that of my food. I cared not to drive a nail, or chop a stick of wood now, for fear the noise I should make should be heard; much less would I fire a gun, for the same reason; and above all, I was intolerably uneasy at making any fire, lest the smoke, which is visible at a great distance in the day, should betray me: and for this reason I removed that part of my business which required fire, such as burning of pots and pipes, &c. into my new apartment in the woods; where, after I had been some time, I found, to my unspeakable consolation, a mere natural cave in the earth, which went in a vag way, and where, I dare say, no savage, had he been at the mouth of it, would be so hardy as to venture in, nor indeed would any man else, but one who, like me, wanted nothing so much as a safe retreat.

The mouth of this hollow was at the bottom of a great rock, where, by mere accident (I would say, if I did not see an abundant reason to ascribe all such things now to Providence), I was cutting down some thick branches of trees to make charcoal; and before I go on, I must observe the reason of my making this charcoal, which was thus;

I was afraid of making a smoke about my habitation, as I said before; and yet I could not live there without baking my bread, cooking my meat, &c. so I contrived to burn some wood here,

as I had seen done in *England*, under turf, till it became chark, or dry coal ; and then putting the fire out, I preserved the coal to carry home, and perform the other services which fire was wanting for at home, without danger of smoke.

But this is by the bye. While I was cutting down some wood here, I perceived that behind a very thick branch of low brushwood, or underwood, there was a kind of hollow place. I was curious to look into it, and getting with difficulty into the mouth of it, I found it was pretty large, that is to say, sufficient for me to stand upright in it, and perhaps another with me ; but I must confess to you, I made more haste out than I did in ; when looking farther into the place, and which was perfectly dark, I saw two broad shining eyes of some creature, whether devil or man I knew not, which twinkled like two stars, the dim light from the cave's mouth shining directly in, and making the reflection.

However, after some pause, I recovered myself, and began to

again, and by the light of the firebrand, holding it up a little over my head, I saw lying on the ground a most monstrous frightful old he-goat, just making his will, as we say, and gasping for life, and dying indeed of mere old age.

I stirred him a little to see if I could get him out, and he essayed to get up, but was not able to raise himself; and I thought with myself, he might even lie there; for if he had frightened me so, he would certainly fright any of the savages, if any of them should be so hardy as to come in there, while he had any life in him.

I was now recovered from my surprise, and began to look round me, when I found the cave was but very small; that is to say, it might be about twelve foot over, but in no manner of shape, either round or square, no hands ever having been employed in making it but those of mere nature. I observed also, that there was a place at the farther side of it that went in farther, but was so low, that it required me to creep upon my hands and knees to go into it, and whither I went, I knew not; so having no candle, I gave it over for some time, but resolved to come again the next day, provided with candles and a tinder-box, which I had made of the lock of one of the musquets, with some wild-fire in the pan.

Accordingly, the next day, I came provided with six large candles of my own making (for I made very good candles now of goats tallow); and going into this low place, I was obliged to creep upon all fours, *as I have said*, almost ten yards; which, by the way, I thought was a venture bold enough, considering that I knew not how far it might go, nor what was beynd it. When I was got through the streight, I found the roof rose higher up, I believe near twenty foot; but never was such a glorious sight seen in the island, I dare say, as it was, to look round the sides and roof of this vault or cave. The walls reflected an hundred thousand lights to me from my two candles; what it was in the

rock, whether diamonds, or any other precious stones, or gold, which I rather suppose it to be, I knew not.

The place I was in was a most delightful cavity, or grotto, of its kind, as could be expected, though perfectly dark; the floor was dry and level, and had a sort of small loose gravel upon it, so that there was no nauseous or venomous creature to be seen; neither was there any damp or wet on the sides or roof; the only difficulty in it was the entrance, which, however, as it was a place of security, and such a retreat as I wanted, I thought that was a convenience; so that I was really rejoiced at the discovery, and resolved, without any delay, to bring some of those things which I was most anxious about to this place; particularly, I resolved to bring hither my magazine of powder, and all my spare arms, *viz.* two fowling-pieces (for I had three in all) and three muskets (for of them I had eight in all); so I kept at my castle only five, which stood ready mounted, like pieces of cannon, on my outmost fence, and were ready also to take out upon any expedition.

The old goat, who I found expiring, died in the mouth of the cave the next day after I made this discovery ; and I found it much easier to dig a great hole there, and throw him in, and cover him with earth, than to drag him out ; so I interred him there, to prevent offence to my nose.

I was now in my twenty-third year of residence in this island, and was so naturalized to the place, and to the manner of living, that could I have but enjoyed the certainty that no savages would come to the place to disturb me, I could have been content to have capitulated for spending the rest of my time there, even to the last moment, till I had laid me down and died, like the old goat in the cave. I had also arrived to some little diversions and amusements, which made the time pass more pleasantly with me a great deal than it did before ; as, first, I had taught my Poll, as I noted before, to speak ; and he did it so familiarly, and talked so articulately and plain, that it was very pleasant to me ; and he lived with me no less than six-and-twenty years : how long he might live afterwards I know not ; though I know they have a notion in the *Brasis*, that they live a hundred years ; perhaps poor Poll may be alive there still, calling after poor *Robin Crusoe* to this day ; I wish no *Englishman* the ill luck to come there and hear him ; but if he did, he would certainly believe it was the devil. My dog was a very pleasant and loving companion to me for no less than sixteen years of my time, and then died of mere old age ; as for my cats, they multiplied, as I have observed, to that degree, that I was obliged to shoot several of them at first, to keep them from devouring me and all I had ; but at length, when the two old ones I brought with me were gone, and after some time continually driving them from me, and letting them have no provision with me, they all ran wild into the woods, except two or three favourites, which I kept tame, and whose young, when they had any, I always drowned, and these were part of my family. Besides these, I always kept two

or three household kids about me, which I taught to feed out of my hand ; and I had also more parrots which talked pretty well, and would all call *Robin Crusoe*, but none like my first ; nor, indeed, did I take the pains with any of them that I had done with him. I had also several tame sea fowls, whose names I know not, who I caught upon the shore, and cut their wings ; and the little stakes, which I had planted before my castle wall, being now grown up to a good thick grove, these fowls all lived among these low trees, and bred there, which was very agreeable to me ; so that, as I said above, I began to be very well contented with the life I led, if it might but have been secured from the dread of the savages.

But it was otherwise directed ; and it may not be amiss for all people who shall meet with my story to make this just observation from it, *viz* How frequently, in the course of our lives, the evil which in itself we seek most to shun, and which, when we are fallen into, is the most dreadful to us, is oftentimes the very

within my grove, not daring to go out, lest I might be surprised ; and yet I had no more peace within, from the apprehensions I had, that if these savages, in rambling over the island, should find my corn standing, or cut, or any of my works and improvements, they would immediately conclude that there were people in the place, and would then never give over till they had found me out. In this extremity I went back directly to my castle, pulled up the ladder after me, having made all things without look as wild and natural as I could.

Then I prepared myself within, putting myself in a posture of defence. I loaded all my cannon, as I called them, that is to say, my muskets, which were mounted upon my new fortification, and all my pistols, and resolved to defend myself to the last gasp ; not forgetting seriously to commend myself to the divine protection, and earnestly to pray to God to deliver me out of the hands of the barbarians ; and in this posture I continued about two hours, but began to be mighty impatient for intelligence abroad, for I had no spies to send out.

After sitting a while longer, and musing what I should do in this case, I was not able to bear sitting in ignorance longer ; so setting up my ladder to the side of the hill, where there was a flat place, as I observed before, and then pulling the ladder up after me, I set it up again, and mounted to the top of the hill ; and pulling out my perspective glass, which I had taken on purpose, I laid me down flat on my belly on the ground, and began to look for the place. I presently found there was no less than nine naked savages sitting round a small fire they had made ; not to warm them, for they had no need of that, the weather being extreme hot ; but, as I supposed, to dress some of their barbarous diet of human flesh which they had brought with them, whether alive or dead I could not know.

They had two carcasses with them, which they had hauled up upon the shore ; and as it was then tide of ebb, they seemed to

me to wait for the return of the flood to go away again. It is not easy to imagine what confusion this sight put me into, especially seeing them come on my side the island, and so near me too; but when I observed their coming must be always with the current of the ebb, I began afterwards to be more sedate in my mind, being satisfied that I might go abroad with safety all the time of the tide of flood, if they were not on shore before; and having made this observation, I went abroad about my harvest work with the more composure.

As I expected, so it proved; for as soon as the tide made to the *westward*, I saw them all take boat, and row (or paddle as we call it) all away. I should have observed, that for an hour and more before they went off, they went to dancing, and I could easily discern their postures and gestures by my glasses: I could not perceive, by my nicest observation, but that they were stark naked, and had not the least covering upon them; but whether they were men or women, that I could not distinguish.

As soon as I saw them shipped and gone, I took two guns upon my shoulders, and two pistols at my girdle, and my great sword by my side, without a scabbard; and with all the speed I was able to make, I went away to the hill, where I had discovered the first appearance of all. And as soon as I gat thither, which was not less than two hours (for I could not go apace, being so loaded with arms as I was), I perceived there had been three canoes more of savages on that place; and looking out farther, I saw they were all at sea together, making over for the main.

This was a dreadful sight to me, especially when going down to the shore, I could see the marks of horror which the dismal work they had been about had left behind it, *viz.* the blood, the bones, and part of the flesh of human bodies, eaten and devoured by those wretches with merriment and sport. I was so filled with indignation at the sight, that I began now to premeditate the destruction of the next that I saw there, let them be who or how many soever.

It seemed evident to me, that the visits which they thus make to this island are not very frequent; for it was above fifteen months before any more of them came on shore there again, that is to say, I neither saw them, or any footsteps or signals of them, in all that time; for as to the rainy seasons, then they are sure not to come abroad, at least not so far: yet all this while I lived uncomfortably, by reason of the constant apprehensions I was in of their coming upon me by surprise; from whence I observe, that the expectation of evil is more bitter than the suffering, especially if there is no room to shake off that expectation or those apprehensions.

During all this time, I was in the murdering humour; and took up most of my hours, which should have been better employed, in contriving how to circumvent and fall upon them the very next time I should see them; especially if they should be divided, as they were the last time, into two parties; nor did I consider at all, that if I killed one party, suppose ten or a dozen, I was still the next day, or week, or month, to kill another, and so another, even *ad infinitum*, till I should be at length no less a murderer than they were in being man eaters, and perhaps much more so.

I spent my days now in great perplexity and anxiety of mind, expecting that I should one day or other fall into the hands of these merciless creatures. And if I did at any time venture abroad, it was not without looking round me with the greatest care and caution imaginable; and now I found to my great comfort, how happy it was that I provided for a tame flock or herd of goats; for I durst not, upon any account, fire my gun, especially near that side of the island where they usually came, lest I should alarm the savages; and if they had fled from me now, I was sure to have them come back again, with perhaps two or three hundred *canoes* with them in a few days, and then I knew what to expect.



However, I wore out a year and three months more before I ever saw any more of the savages, and then I found them again, as I shall soon observe. It is true, they might have been there once or twice, but either they made no stay, or, at least, I did not hear them; but in the month of *May*, as near as I could calculate, and in my four-and-twentieth year, I had a very strange encounter with them, of which in its place.

The perturbation of my mind, during this fifteen or sixteen months interval, was very great; I slept unquiet, dreamed always frightful dreams, and often started out of my sleep in the night: in the day great troubles overwhelmed my mind; and in the night I dreamed often of killing the savages, and the reasons why I might justify the doing of it. But to wave all this for a while, it was in the middle of *May*, on the sixteenth day, I think, as well as my poor wooden calendar would reckon, for I marked all upon the post still; I say, it was the sixteenth of *May*, that it blew a very great storm of wind all day, with a great deal of lightning and thunder, and a very foul night it was after it. I know not what was the particular occasion of it: but as I was reading in the bible, and taken up with very serious thoughts about my present condition, I was surprised with the noise of a gun, as I thought, fired at sea.

This was, to be sure, a surprise of a quite different nature from any I had met with before; for the notions this put into my thoughts were quite of another kind. I started up in the greatest haste imaginable; and in a trice clapped my ladder to the middle-place of the rock, and pulled it after me, and mounting it the second time, got to the top of the hill; the very moment that a flash of fire bade me listen for a second gun, which accordingly in about half a minute I heard, and by the sound knew that it was from that part of the sea where I was driven out with the current in my boat.

*I immediately considered that this must be some ship in*

distress, and that they had some comrade, or some other ship in company, and fired these guns for signals of distress, and to obtain help. I had this presence of mind at that minute as to think, that though I could not help them, it may be they might help me: so I brought together all the dry wood I could get at hand, and making a good handsome pile, I set it on fire upon the hill: the wood was dry, and blazed freely, and though the wind blew very hard, yet it burnt fairly out, that I was certain, if there was any such thing as a ship, they must needs see it, and no doubt they did; for as soon as ever my fire blazed up, I heard another gun, and after that several others, all from the same quarter. I plied my fire all night long, till day broke; and when it was broad day, and the air cleared up, I saw something at a great distance at sea, full *east* of the island; whether a sail or a hull I could not distinguish, no, not with my glasses, the distance was so great, and the weather still something hazy also; at least it was so out at sea.

I looked frequently at it all that day, and soon perceived that it did not move; so I presently concluded that it was a ship at an anchor, and being eager, you may be sure, to be satisfied, I took my gun in my hand, and run toward the south side of the island, to the rocks, where I had been formerly carried away with the current; and getting up there, the weather by this time being perfectly clear, I could plainly see, to my great sorrow, the wreck of a ship cast away in the night upon those concealed rocks which I found when I was out in my boat; and which rocks, as they checked the violence of the stream, and made a kind of counter-stream, or eddy, were the occasion of my recovering then from the most desperate, hopeless condition, that ever I had been in, in all my life.

Thus, what is one man's safety is another man's destruction; for it seems these men, whoever they were, being out of their knowledge, and the rocks being wholly under water, had been

driven upon them in the night, the wind blowing hard at *E.* and *E. N. E.* Had they seen the island, as I must necessarily suppose they did not, they must, as I thought, have endeavoured to have saved themselves on shore by the help of their boat; but their firing of their guns for help, especially when they saw, as I imagined, my fire, filled me with many thoughts: first, I imagined, that, upon seeing my light, they might have put themselves into their boat, and have endeavoured to make the shore; but that the sea going very high, they might have been cast away: other times I imagined, that they might have lost their boat before, as might be the case many ways; as particularly, by the breaking of the sea upon their ship, which many times obliges men to stave or take in pieces their boat; and sometimes to throw it overboard with their own hands: other times I imagined, they had some other ship or ships in company, who, upon the signals of distress they had made, had taken them up, and carried them off: otherwhiles I fancied they were all

Such certainly was the case of these men, of whom I could not so much as see room to suppose any of them were saved; nothing could make it rational, so much as to wish or expect that they did not all perish there, except the possibility only of their being taken up by another ship in company: and this was but mere possibility indeed; for I saw not the least signal or appearance of any such thing.

I cannot explain, by any possible energy of words, what a strange longing, or hankering of desires, I felt in my soul upon this sight; breaking out sometimes thus: O that there had been but one or two, nay, or but one soul saved out of the ship, to have escaped to me, that I might but have had one companion, one fellow-creature to have spoken to me, and to have conversed with! In all the time of my solitary life, I never felt so earnest, so strong a desire after the society of my fellow-creatures, or so deep a regret at the want of it.

There are some secret moving springs in the affections, which, when they are set a going by some object in view, or be it some object though not in view, yet rendered present to the mind by the power of imagination, that motion carries out the soul by its impetuosity to such violent eager embracings of the object, that the absence of it is insupportable.

Such were these earnest wishings, That but one man had been saved! O that it had been but one! I believe I repeated the words, O that it had been but one! a thousand times; and my desires were so moved by it, that when I spoke the words, my hands would clinch together, and my fingers press the palms of my hands, that if I had had any soft thing in my hand, it would have crushed it involuntarily; and my teeth in my head would strike together, and set against one another so strong, that for some time I could not part them again.

Let the naturalists explain these things, and the reason and manner of them: all I can say to them is, to describe the fact, which was even surprising to me when I found it, though I knew

not from what it should proceed ; it was doubtless the effect of ardent wishes, and of strong ideas formed in my mind, realizing the comfort which the conversation of one of my fellow-christians would have been to me.

But it was not to be ; either their fate, or mine, or both, forbid it ; for till the last year of my being on this island, I never knew whether any were saved out of that ship, or no ; and had only the affliction some days after to see the corpse of a drowned boy come on shore, at the end of the island which was next the shipwreck : he had on no clothes but a seaman's waistcoat, a pair of open-kneed lined drawers, and a blue linen shirt ; but nothing to direct me so much as to guess what nation he was of : he had nothing in his pocket but two pieces of eight, and a tobacco-pipe ; the last was to me of ten times more value than the first.

It was now calm, and I had a great mind to venture out in my boat to this wreck, not doubting but I might find something on board that might be useful to me ; but that did not alto-

afloat, loaded all my cargo in her, and then went home again for more: my second cargo was a great bag-full of rice, the umbrella to set up over my head for shade, another large pot-full of fresh water, and about two dozen of my small loaves, or barley cakes, more than before, with a bottle of goat's milk, and a cheese; all which, with great labour and sweat, I brought to my boat; and praying to God to direct my voyage, I put out, and rowing or paddling the canoe along the shore, I came at last to the utmost point of the island, on that side, viz. N. E. And now I was to launch out into the ocean, and either to venture, or not to venture; I looked on the rapid currents which ran constantly on both sides of the island, at a distance, and which were very terrible to me, from the remembrance of the hazard I had been in before, and my heart began to fail me; for I foresaw, that if I was driven into either of those currents, I should be carried a vast way out to sea, and perhaps out of my reach or sight of the island again; and that then, as my boat was but small, if any little gale of wind should rise, I should be inevitably lost.

These thoughts so oppressed my mind, that I began to give over my enterprise; and having haled my boat into a little creek on the shore, I stepped out, and sat me down upon a little rising bit of ground, very pensive and anxious, between fear and desire, about my voyage; when, as I was musing, I could perceive that the tide was turned, and the flood come on, upon which my going was for so many hours impracticable: upon this it presently occurred to me, that I should go up to the highest piece of ground I could find, and observe, if I could, how the sets of the tide or currents lay, when the flood came in, that I might judge whether, if I was driven one way out, I might not expect to be driven another way home, with the same rapidness of the currents. This thought was no sooner in my head, but I cast my eye upon a little hill which sufficiently overlooked the sea

both ways, and from whence I had a clear view of the currents, or sets of the tide, and which way I was to guide myself in my return : here I found, that as the current of the ebb set out close by the south point of the island, so the current of the flood set in close by the shore of the north side ; and that I had nothing to do but to keep to the north of the island in my return, and I should do well enough.

Encouraged with this observation, I resolved the next morning to set out with the first of the tide ; and reposing myself for the night in the canoe, under the great watch-coat I mentioned, I launched out. I made first a little out to sea, full north, till I began to feel the benefit of the current, which set eastward, and which carried me at a great rate, and yet did not so hurry me as the southern-side current had done before, and so as to take from me all government of the boat ; but having a strong steerage with my paddle, I went at a great rate, directly for the wreck, and in less than two hours I came up to it.

was two men drowned in the cook-room, or forecastle of the ship, with their arms fast about one another. I concluded, as is indeed probable, that when the ship struck, it being in a storm, the sea broke so high, and so continually over her, that the men were not able to beat it, and were strangled with the constant rushing in of the water, as much as if they had been under water; besides the dog, there was nothing left in the ship that had life, nor any goods that I could see, but what were spoiled by the water: there were some casks of liquor, whether wine or brandy I knew not, which lay lower in the hold, and which, the water being ebbed out, I could see; but they were too big to meddle with. I saw several chests, which I believed belonged to some of the seamen, and I got two of them into the boat without examining what was in them.

Had the stern of the ship been fixed, and the fore-part broken off, I am persuaded I might have made a good voyage; for by what I found in these two chests, I had room to suppose the ship had a great deal of wealth on board; and if I may guess by the course she steered, she must have been bound from the *Buenos Ayres*, or the *Rio de la Plata*, in the south part of America, beyond the *Brassis*, to the *Havanna*, in the gulph of Mexico, and so perhaps to *Spain*. She had, no doubt, a great treasure in her, but of no use at that time to any body; and what became of the rest of her people I then knew not.

I found, besides these chests, a little cask full of liquor, of about twenty gallons, which I got into my boat with much difficulty: there were several musquets in a cabin, and a great powder-horn, with about four pounds of powder in it; as for the musquets, I had no occasion for them, so I left them, but took the powder-horn; I took a fire-shovel and tongs, which I wanted extremely; as also two little brass kettles, a copper pot to make chocolate, and a gridiron; and with this cargo, and the dog, I came away, the tide beginning to make home again; and the

same evening about an hour within night, I reached the island again, weary and fatigued to the last degree.

I reposed that night in the boat, and in the morning I resolved to harbour what I had gotten in my new cave, not to carry it home to my castle. After refreshing myself, I got all my cargo on shore, and began to examine the particulars: the cask of liquor I found to be a kind of rum, but not such as we had at the *Brasils*; and, in a word, not at all good; but when I came to open the chests, I found several things of great use to me: for example, I found in one a fine case of bottles, of an extraordinary kind, and filled with cordial waters, fine, and very good; the bottles held about three pints each, and were tipped with silver. I found two pots of very good succades, or sweet-meats, so fastened also on the top, that the salt water had not hurt them; and two more of the same, which the water had spoiled. I found some very good shirts, which were very welcome to me, and about a dozen and half of white linen handkerchiefs,

greatly wanted, but had not had on my feet now for many years. I had, indeed, gotten two pair of shoes now, which I took off the feet of the two drowned men whom I saw in the wreck ; and I found two pair more in one of the chests, which were very welcome to me ; but they were not like our *English* shoes, either for ease or service, being rather what we call pumps than shoes. I found in this seaman's chest about fifty pieces of eight in roynals, but no gold ; I suppose this belonged to a poorer man than the other, which seemed to belong to some officer.

Well, however, I lugged this money home to my cave, and laid it up, as I had done that before which I brought from our own ship ; but it was great pity, as I said, that the other part of the ship had not come to my share, for I am satisfied I might have loaded my *cave* several times over with money, which, if I had ever escaped to *England*, would have lain here safe enough till I might have come again and fetched it.

Having now brought all my things on shore, and secured them, I went back to my boat, and rowed or paddled her along the shore to her old harbour, where I laid her up, and made the best of my way to my old habitation, where I found every thing safe and quiet : so I began to repose myself, live after my old fashion, and take care of my family affairs ; and for a while I lived easy enough, only that I was more vigilant than I used to be, looked out oftener, and did not go abroad so much ; and if at any time I did stir with any freedom, it was always to the ~~east~~ part of the island, where I was pretty well satisfied the savages never came, and where I could go without so many precautions, and such a load of arms and ammunition, as I always carried with me, if I went the other way.

I lived in this condition near two years more ; but my unlucky head, that was always to let me know it was born to make my body miserable, was all these two years filled with projects and designs, how, if it were possible, I might get away from

his island ; for sometimes I was for making another voyage to the wreck, though my reason told me, that there was nothing left here worth the hazard of my voyage ; sometimes for a ramble one way, sometimes another ; and I believe verily, if I had the boat that I went from *Sallee* in, I should have ventured to sea, bound any where, I knew not whither.

I have been, in all my circumstances, a *memento* to those who are touched with that general plague of mankind, whence, for ought I know, one half of their miseries flow ; I mean, that of not being satisfied with the station wherein God and nature has placed them ; for, not to look back upon my primitive condition, and the excellent advice of my father, the opposition to which was, as *I may call it*, my original sin, my subsequent mistakes of the same kind had been the means of my coming into his miserable condition ; for had that Providence, which so happily had seated me at the *Brasils* as a planter, blessed me with confined desires, and I could have been contented to have

now; and yet, so deep had the mistake taken root in my temper, that I could not satisfy myself in my station, but was continually poring upon the means and possibility of my escape from this place; and that I may, with the greater pleasure to the reader, bring on the remaining part of my story, it may not be improper to give some account of my first conceptions on the subject of this foolish scheme for my escape; and how and upon what foundation I acted.

I am now to be supposed to be retired into my castle, after my late voyage to the wreck, my frigate laid up, and secured under water as usual, and my condition restored to what it was before. I had more wealth, indeed, than I had before, but was not at all the richer; for I had no more use for it than the *Indians of Peru* had before the *Spaniards* came there.

It was one of the nights in the rainy season in *March*, the four-and-twentieth year of my first setting foot in this island of solitariness. I was lying in my bed or hammock, awake, and very well in health, had no pain, no distemper, no uneasiness of body, no, nor any uneasiness of mind more than ordinary, but could by no means close my eyes, that is, so as to sleep; no, not a wink all night long, otherwise than as follows:

It is as impossible as needless to set down the innumerable crowd of thoughts that whirled through that great thoroughfare of the brain, the memory, in this night's time. I run over the whole history of my life in miniature, or by abridgment, as I may call it, to my coming to this island; and also of the part of my life since I came to this island. In my reflections upon the state of my case, since I came on shore on this island, I was comparing the happy posture of my affairs in the first years of my habitation here, compared to the life of anxiety, fear, and care, which I had lived ever since I had seen the print of a foot in the sand; not that I did not believe the savages had frequented the island even all the while, and might have been

several hundreds of them at times on the shore there ; but I had never known it, and was incapable of any apprehensions about it, my satisfaction was perfect, though my danger was the same ; and I was as happy in not knowing my danger, as if I had never really been exposed to it ; this furnished my thoughts with many very profitable reflections, and particularly this one : How infinitely good that Providence is, which has provided in its government of mankind such narrow bounds to his sight and knowledge of things ; and though he walks in the midst of so many thousand dangers, the sight of which, if discovered to him, would distract his mind, and sink his spirits, he is kept serene and calm, by having the event of things hid from his eyes, and knowing nothing the dangers which surround him.

After these thoughts had for some time entertained me, I came to reflect seriously upon the real danger I had been in for so many years in this very island ; and how I had walked about in the greatest security and with all possible tranquillity, even

brutality itself, as to devour its own kind : but as this ended in some (at that time fruitless) speculations, it occurred to me to inquire what part of the world these wretches lived in ; how far off the coast was from whence they came ; what they ventured over so far from home for ; what kind of boats they had ; and why I might not order myself, and my business so, that I might be as able to go over thither as they were to come to me.

I never so much as troubled myself to consider, what I should do with myself when I came thither ; what should become of me if I fell into the hands of the savages ; or how I should escape from them, if they attempted me ; no, nor so much as how it was possible for me to reach the coast, and not be attempted by some or other of them, without any poss.bility of delivering myself ; and if I should not fall into their hands, what I should do for provision, or whether I should bend my course ; none of these thoughts, I say, so much as came in my way ; but my mind was wholly bent upon the notion of my passing over in my boat to the main land. I looked back upon my present condition as the most miserable that could possibly be ; that I was not able to throw myself into any thing but death, that could be called worse ; that if I reached the shore of the main, I might, perhaps, meet with relief ; or I might coast along, as I did on the shore of *Africa*, till I came to some inhabited country, and where I might find some relief ; and after all, perhaps, I might fall in with some Christian ship that might take me in ; and if the worst came to the worst, I could but die, which would put an end to all these miseries at once. Pray, note, all this was the fruit of a disturbed mind, an impatient temper, made, as it were, desperate by the long continuance of my troubles, and the disappointments I had met in the wreck I had been on board of, and where I had been so near the obtaining what I so earnestly longed for, viz. somebody to speak to, and to learn some knowl-  
edge from of the place where I was, and of the probable means

of my deliverance : I say, I was agitated wholly by these thoughts. All my calm of mind in my resignation to Providence, and waiting the issue of the dispositions of Heaven, seemed to be suspended ; and I had, as it were, no power to turn my thoughts to any thing but to the project of a voyage to the main ; which came upon me with such force, and such an impetuosity of desire, that it was not to be resisted.

When this had agitated my thoughts for two hours or more, with such violence that it set my very blood into a ferment, and my pulse beat as high as if I had been in a fever, merely with the extraordinary fervour of my mind about it, nature, as if I had been fatigued and exhausted with the very thought of it, threw me into a sound sleep : one would have thought I should have dreamed of it ; but I did not, nor of any thing relating to it ; but I dreamed that I was going out in the morning, as usual, from my castle, I saw upon the shore two *canoes*, and eleven savages coming to land, and that they brought with them ano-

my escape in my dream, that the disappointments which I felt upon coming to myself, and finding it was no more than a dream, were equally extravagant the other way, and threw me into a very great dejection of spirit.

Upon this, however, I made this conclusion, that my only way to go about an attempt for an escape, was, if possible, to get a savage into my possession ; and, if possible, it should be one of their prisoners whom they had condemned to be eaten, and should bring thither to kill ; but these thoughts still were attended with this difficulty, that it was impossible to effect this without attacking a whole caravan of them, and killing them all ; and this was not only a very desperate attempt, and might miscarry ; but, on the other hand, I had greatly scrupled the lawfulness of it to me, and my heart trembled at the thoughts of shedding so much blood, though it was for my deliverance. I need not repeat the arguments which occurred to me against this, they being the same mentioned before : but though I had other reasons to offer now, viz. that those men were enemies to my life, and would devour me, if they could ; that it was self-preservation, in the highest degree, to deliver myself from this death of a life, and was acting in my own defence, as much as if they were actually assaulting me, and the like ; I say, though these things argued for it, yet the thoughts of shedding human blood for my deliverance were very terrible to me, and such as I could by no means reconcile myself to a great while.

However, at last, after many secret disputes with myself, and after great perplexities about it (for all these arguments, one way and another, struggled in my head a long time), the eager prevailing desire of deliverance at length mastered all the rest, and I resolved, if possible, to get one of these savages into my hands, cost what it would : the next thing then was to contrive how to do it ; and this indeed was very difficult to resolve on : but as I could pitch upon no probable means for it, so I resolved to put

myself upon the watch to see them when they came on shore, and leave the rest to the event, taking such measures as the opportunity should present, let be what would be.

With these resolutions in my thoughts, I set myself upon the scout as often as possible, and indeed so often, till I was heartily tired of it; for it was above a year and a half that I waited, and for great part of that time went out to the *west* end, and to the *south west* corner of the island, almost every day, to see for canoes, but none appeared: this was very discouraging, and began to trouble me much; though I cannot say that it did in this case, as it had done some time before that, *viz.* wear off the edge of my desire to the thing; but the longer it seemed to be delayed, the more eager I was for it: in a word, I was not at first so careful to shun the sight of these savages, and avoid being seen by them, as I was now eager to be upon them.

Besides, I fancied myself able to manage one, nay, two or three savages, if I had them, so as to make them entirely slaves

myself into all the same postures for an attack that I had formerly provided, and was just ready for action, if any thing had presented. Having waited a good while, listening to hear if they made any noise ; at length being very impatient, I set my guns at the foot of my ladder, and clambered up to the top of the hill by my two stages, as usual ; standing so, however, that my head did not appear above the hill, so that they could not perceive me by any means : here I observed, by the help of my perspective glass, that they were no less than thirty in number ; that they had a fire kindled, that they had had meat dressed ; how they had cooked it, that I knew not, or what it was ; but they were all dancing in I know not how many barbarous gestures and figures, their own way, round the fire.

When I was thus looking on them, I perceived by my perspective two miserable wretches dragged from the boats, where, it seems, they were laid by, and were now brought out for the slaughter. I perceived one of them immediately fell, being knocked down, I suppose, with a club or wooden sword, for that was their way ; and two or three others were at work immediately, cutting him open for their cookery, while the other victim was left standing by himself, till they should be ready for him : in that very moment this poor wretch, seeing himself a little at liberty, nature inspired him with hopes of life, and he started away from them, and ran with incredible swiftness along the sands, directly towards me, I mean, towards that part of the coast where my habitation was.

I was dreadfully frightened (that I must acknowledge) when I perceived him to run my way ; and especially when, as I thought, I saw him pursued by the whole body ; and now I expected that part of my dream was coming to pass, and that he would certainly take shelter in my grove ; but I could not depend, by any means, upon my dream for the rest of it, *viz.* that the other savages *would not* pursue him thither, and find him there.

However, I kept my station, and my spirits began to recover, when I found that there were not above three men that followed him ; and still more was I encouraged, when I found he outstript them exceedingly in running, and gained ground of them, so that if he could but hold it for half an hour, I saw easily he would fairly get away from them all.

There was between them and my castle the creek, which I mentioned often at the first part of my story, when I landed my cargoes out of the ship ; and this I saw plainly he must necessarily swim over, or the poor wretch would be taken there ; but when the savage escaping came thither, he made nothing of it, though the tide was then up ; but plunging in, swam through in about thirty strokes, or thereabouts, landed, and ran on with exceeding strength and swiftness. When the three persons came to the creek, I found that two of them could swim, but the third could not, and that, standing on the other side, he looked at the other, but went no further : and soon after went softly

in the mean time, I slowly advanced towards the two that followed; then rushing at once upon the foremost, I knocked him down with the stock of my piece; I was loth to fire, because I would not have the rest hear, though at that distance it would not have been easily heard; and being out of sight of the smoke too, they would not have easily known what to make of it. Having knocked this fellow down, the other who pursued with him stopped, as if he had been frightened, and I advanced apace towards him; but as I came nearer, I perceived presently he had a bow and arrow, and was fitting it to shoot at me; so I was then necessitated to shoot at him first; which I did, and killed him at the first shoot. The poor savage who fled, but had stopped, though he saw both his enemies fallen, and killed (as he thought) yet was so frightened with the fire and noise of my piece, that he stood stock-still, and neither came forward or went backward, though he seemed rather inclined to fly still than to come on. I hallooed again to him, and made signs to come forward, which he easily understood, and came a little way, then stopped again, and then a little further, and stopped again; and I could then perceive that he stood trembling, as if he had been taken prisoner, and had just been to be killed, as his two enemies were. I beckoned him again to come to me, and gave him all the signs of encouragement that I could think of; and he came nearer and nearer, kneeling down every ten or twelve steps, in token of acknowledgment for saving his life. I smiled at him and looked pleasantly, and beckoned to him to come still nearer. At length he came close to me, and he then kneeled down again, kissed the ground, and laid his head upon the ground, and taking me by the foot, set my foot upon his head. This, it seems, was in token of swearing to be my slave for ever. I took him up, and made much of him, and encouraged him all I could. But there was more work to do yet; for I perceived the savage, who I knocked down, was not killed, but stunned with the blow, and

egan to come to himself: so I pointed to him, and shewed him he savage, that he was not dead: upon this he spoke some words to me; and though I could not understand them, yet I thought they were pleasant to hear, for they were the first sound of a man's voice that I had heard, *my own excepted*, for above twenty-five years. But there was no time for such reflections now: the savage, who was knocked down, recovered himself so far as to sit up upon the ground; and I perceived that my savage began to be afraid; but when I saw that, I presented my other piece at the man, as if I would shoot him: upon this my savage, *for so I call him now*, made a motion to me to lend him my sword, which hung naked in a belt by my side; so I did: he no sooner had it, but he runs to his enemy, and at one blow cut off his head so cleverly, no executioner in *Germany* could have done it sooner or better; which I thought very strange for one, who, I had reason to believe, never saw a sword in his life before, except their own wooden swords. However it seems, as I learned

to go away, and beckoned him to follow me, making signs to him that more might come after them.

Upon this he signed to me that he should bury them with sand, that they might not be seen by the rest, if they followed ; and so I made signs again to him to do so : he fell to work, and in an instant he had scraped a hole in the sand with his hands, big enough to bury the first in, and then dragged him into it, and covered him, and did so also by the other. I believe he had buried them both in a quarter of an hour : then calling him away, I carried him not to my castle, but quite away to my cave, on the farther part of the island ; so I did not let my dream come to pass in that part ; viz. that he came into my grove for shelter.

Here I gave him bread, and a bunch of raisins to eat, and a draught of water, which I found he was indeed in great distress for, by his running ; and having refreshed him, I made signs for him to go lie down and sleep, pointing to a place where I had laid a great parcel of rice-straw, and a blanket upon it, which I used to sleep upon myself sometimes : so the poor creature lay down and went to sleep.

He was a comely handsome fellow, perfectly well made, with straight long limbs, not too large, tall, and well-shaped, and, as I reckon, about twenty-six years of age. He had a very good countenance, not a fierce and surly aspect, but seemed to have something very manly in his face, and yet he had all the sweetness and softness of an *European* in his countenance too, especially when he smiled : his hair was long and black, not curled like wool ; his forehead very high and large, and a great vivacity and sparkling sharpness in his eyes. The colour of his skin was not quite black, but very tawny, and yet not of an ugly yellow nauseous tawny, as the *Brasilians* and *Virginians*, and other natives of *America* are ; but of a bright kind of a dun olive colour, that had in it something very agreeable, though not very

easy to describe. His face was round and plump, his nose small, not flat like the negroes, a very good mouth, thin lips, and his fine teeth, well set, and white as ivory. After he had slumbered, rather than slept, about half an hour, he waked again, and comes out of the cave to me, for I had been milking my goats, which I had in the enclosure just by. When he espied me, he came running to me, laying himself down again upon the ground, with all the possible signs of an humble thankful disposition, making many antic gestures to shew it. At last he lays his head flat upon the ground, close to my foot, and sets my other foot upon his head, as he had done before ; and after this, made all the signs to me of subjection, servitude, and submission imaginable, to let me know how he would serve me as long as he lived. I understood him in many things, and let him know I was very well pleased with him. In a little time I began to speak to him, and teach him to speak to me : and first, I made him know his name should be *Friday*, which was the day I saved

made as if I would vomit at the thoughts of it, and beckoned with my hand to him to come away, which he did immediately, with great submission. I then led him up to the top of the hill, to see if his enemies were gone, and pulling out my glass, I looked, and saw plainly the place where they had been, but no appearance of them, or of their *causes*; so that it was plain that they were gone, and had left their two comrades behind them, without any search after them.

But I was not content with this discovery; but having now more courage, and consequently more curiosity, I takes my man *Friday* with me, giving him the sword in his hand, with the bow and arrows at his back, which I found he could use very dexterously, making him carry one gun for me, and I two for myself, and away we marched to the place where these creatures had been; for I had a mind now to get some fuller intelligence of them. When I came to the place, my very blood ran chill in my veins, and my heart sunk within me at the horror of the spectacle: indeed it was a dreadful sight, at least it was so to me, though *Friday* made nothing of it. The place was covered with human bones, the ground dyed with their blood, great pieces of flesh left here and there half-eaten, mangled, and scorched: and, in short, all the tokens of the triumphant feast they had been making there, after a victory over their enemies. I saw three skulls, five hands, and the bones of three or four legs and feet, and abundance of other parts of the bodies; and *Friday*, by his signs, made me understand that they brought over four prisoners to feast upon; that three of them were eaten up, and that he, pointing to himself, was the fourth: that there had been a great battle between them and their next king, whose subjects, it seems, he had been one of; and that they had taken a great number of prisoners, all which were carried to several places by those that had taken them in the fight, in order to feast.

upon them, as was done here by these wretches upon those they brought hither.

I caused *Friday* to gather all the skulls, bones, flesh, and whatever remained, and lay them together on a heap, and make a great fire upon it, and burn them all to ashes. I found *Friday* had still a hankering stomach after some of the flesh, and was still a cannibal in his nature; but I discovered so much abhorrence at the very thoughts of it, and at the least appearance of it, that he durst not discover it; for I had, by some means, let him know, that I would kill him if he offered it.

When we had done this, we came back to our castle, and here I fell to work for my man *Friday*. And first of all, I gave him a pair of linen drawers which I had out of the poor gunner's chest I mentioned, and which I found in the wreck; and which, with a little alteration, fitted him very well: then I made him a jerkin of goat's-skin as well as my skill would allow, and I was now grown a tolerably good tailor: and I gave

passage, a little within the entrance ; and causing the door to open on the inside, I barred it up in the night, taking in my ladders too ; so that *Friday* could no way come at me in the inside of my innermost wall, without making so much noise in getting over, that it must needs waken me ; for my first wall had now a complete roof over it of long poles, covering all my tent, and leaning up to the side of the hill, which was again laid across with small sticks instead of laths, and then thatched over a great thickness with the rice-straw, which was strong like reeds ; and at the hole or place which was left to go in or out by the ladder, I had placed a kind of trap-door, which if it had been attempted on the outside, would not have opened at all, but would have fallen down, and made a great noise ; and as to weapons, I took them all into my side every night.

But I needed none of all this precaution ; for never man had a more faithful, loving, sincere servant than *Friday* was to me ; without passions, sullenness or designs ; perfectly obliged and engaged ; his very affections were tied to me, like those of a child to a father ; and I dare say he would have sacrificed his life for the saving mine, upon any occasion whatsoever : the many testimonies he gave me of this, put it out of doubt ; and soon convinced me, that I needed to use no precautions as to my safety on his account.

This frequently gave me occasion to observe, and that with wonder, that however it had pleased God in his providence, and in the government of the works of his hands, to make from so great a part of the world, of his creatures, the best uses to which their faculties and the powers of their souls are adapted ; yet that he has bestowed upon them the same powers, the same reason, the same affections, the same sentiments of kindness and obligation, the same passions and resentments of wrongs, the same sense of gratitude, sincerity, fidelity, and all the capacities of doing good, and receiving good, that he has given to us ; and

hat when he pleases to offer to them occasions of exerting these, they are as ready, nay, more ready to apply them to the right uses for which they were bestowed than we are. And this made me very melancholy sometimes, in reflecting, as the several occasions presented, how mean a use we make of all these, even though we have these powers enlightened by the great lamp of instruction, the Spirit of God, and by the knowledge of his word, added to our understanding; and why it has pleased God to hide the like saving knowledge from so many millions of souls, who, if I might judge by this poor savage, would make a much better use of it than we did.

From hence I sometimes was led too far to invade the sovereignty of *Providence*; and, as it were, arraign the justice of so arbitrary a disposition of things, that should hide that light from some, and reveal it to others, and yet expect a like duty from both: but I shut it up, and checked my thoughts with this conclusion. First, that we did not know by what light and law

pleasant to me to talk to him. And now my life began to be so easy that I began to say to myself, that could I but have been safe from more savages, I cared not if I was never to remove from the place while I lived.

After I had been two or three days returned to my castle, I thought that, in order to bring *Friday* off from his horrid way of feeding, and from the relish of a cannibal's stomach, I ought to let him taste other flesh; so I took him out with me one morning to the woods. I went, indeed, intending to kill a kid out of my own flock, and bring him home and dress it: but as I was going, I saw a she-goat lying down in the shade, and two young kids sitting by her. I catched hold of *Friday*, Hold, said I, stand still; and made signs to him not to stir; immediately I presented my piece, shot and killed one of the kids. The poor creature, who had, at a distance indeed, seen me kill the savage, his enemy, but did not know or could imagine how it was done, was sensibly surprised, trembled and shook, and looked so amazed, that I thought he would have sunk down; he did not see the kid I shot at, or perceive I had killed it, but ripped up his waistcoat to feel if he was not wounded; and, as I found, presently thought I was resolved to kill him; for he came and kneeled down to me, and, embracing my knees, said a great many things I did not understand; but I could easily see that the meaning was to pray me not to kill him.

I soon found a way to convince him that I would do him no harm; and taking him up by the hand, laughed at him, and pointing to the kid which I had killed, beckoned to him to run and fetch it, which he did; and while he was wondering and looking to see how the creature was killed, I loaded my gun again, and by and by I saw a great fowl, like a hawk, sit upon a tree within shot: so, to let *Friday* understand a little what I would do, I called him to me again, pointing at the fowl, which was indeed a parrot, though I thought it had been a hawk; I say,

ointing to the parrot, and to my gun, and to the ground under the parrot, to let him see I would make him fall, I made him understand that I would shoot and kill that bird ; accordingly I fired, and bid him look, and immediately he saw the parrot fall. He stood like one frightened again, notwithstanding all I had said to him ; and I found he was the more amazed, because he did not see me put any thing into the gun ; but thought there must be some wonderful fund of death and destruction in that thing, able to kill man, beast, bird, or any thing near or far off : and the astonishment this created in him was such as could not wear off for a long time ; and I believe, if I would have let him, he would have worshipped me and my gun : as for the gun itself, he would not so much as touch it for several days after ; but would speak to it, and talk to it, as if it had answered him, when he was by himself ; which, as I afterwards learned of him, was to desire it not to kill him.

Well - after his astonishment was a little over at this, I painted

at it, washing his mouth with fresh water after it; on the other hand, I took some meat in my mouth without salt, and I pretended to spit and sputter for want of salt, as fast as he had done at the salt; but it would not do, he would never care for salt with meat, or in his broth; at least, not a great while, and then but a very little.

Having thus fed him with boiled meat and broth, I was resolved to feast him the next day with roasting a piece of the kid: this I did by hanging it before the fire in a string, as I had seen many people do in *England*, setting two poles up, one on each side the fire, and one across the top, and tying the string to the cross stick, letting the meat turn continually: this *Friday* admired very much; but when he came to taste the flesh, he took so many ways to tell me how well he liked it, that I could not but understand him; and at last he told me he would never eat man's flesh any more, which I was very glad to hear.

The next day I set him to work to beating some corn out, and sifting it in the manner I used to do, as I observed before; and he soon understood how to do it as well as I, especially after he had seen what the meaning of it was, and that it was to make bread of; for after that I let him see me make my bread, and bake it too; and in a little time *Friday* was able to do all the work for me, as well as I could do it myself.

I began now to consider, that having two mouths to feed instead of one, I must provide more ground for my harvest, and plant a larger quantity of corn than I used to do; so I marked out a larger piece of land, and began the fence in the same manner as before, in which *Friday* not only worked very willingly, and very hard, but did it very cheerfully; and I told him what it was for, that it was for corn to make more bread, because he was now with me, and that I might have enough for him and myself too: he appeared very sensible of that part, and let me know, that he thought I had much more labour upon me on his account than I

ad for myself, and that he would work the harder for me, if I would tell him what to do.

This was the pleasantest year of all the life I led in this place. *Friday* began to talk pretty well, and understand the names of almost every thing I had occasion to call for, and of every place had to send him to, and talked a great deal to me ; so that, in short, I began now to have some use for my tongue again, which indeed I had very little occasion for before ; that is to say, *about speech*. Besides the pleasure of talking to him, I had a singular satisfaction in the fellow himself ; his simple unfeigned honesty appeared to me more and more every day, and I began really to love the creature ; and on his side, I believe he loved me more than it was possible for him ever to love any thing before.

I had a mind once to try if he had any hankering inclination to his own country again ; and having learned him *English* so well that he could answer me almost any questions, I asked him, whether the nation that he belonged to never conquered in battle ?

the men they take? Do they carry them away, and eat them as these did?

*Friday.* Yes, my nation eat mans too, eat all up.

*Master.* Where do they carry them?

*Friday.* Go to other place where they think.

*Master.* Do they come hither?

*Friday.* Yes, yes, they come hither: come other else place.

*Master.* Have you been here with them?

*Friday.* Yes, I been here [points to the N. W. side of the island, which it seems, was their side.]

By this I understood, that my man *Friday* had formerly been among the savages who used to come on shore, on the farther part of the island, on the same man-eating occasions that he was now brought for; and some time after when I took the courage to carry him to that side, being the same I formerly mentioned, he presently knew the place, and told me, he was there once when they eat up twenty men, two women, and one child: he could not tell twenty in English, but he numbered them by laying so many stones on a row, and pointed to me to tell them over.

I have told this passage, because it introduces what follows;—that after I had had this discourse with him, I asked him how far it was from our island to the shore, and whether the *canoes* were not often lost? He told me there was no danger, no *canoes* ever lost; but that after a little way out to sea, there was a current, and wind always one way in the morning, the other in the afternoon.

This I understand to be no more than the sets of the tide, as going out, or coming in; but I afterwards understood it was occasioned by the great draught and reflux of the mighty river *Orinoco*; in the mouth, or the gulph, of which river, as I thought afterwards, our island lay; and this land, which I perceived to the *W.* and *N. W.* was the great island *Trinidad*, on the north point of the mouth of the river: I asked *Friday* a

thousand questions about the country, the inhabitants, the sea, the coast, and what nations were near: he told me all he knew with the greatest openness imaginable. I asked him the names of the several nations of his sort of people, but could get no other name than *Caribs*; from whence I easily understood, that these were the *Caribees*, which our maps place on the part of *America* which reaches from the mouth of the river *Oroonoque* to *Guinea*, and onwards to *St. Martha*: he told me, that up a great way beyond the moon, that was, beyond the setting of the moon, which must be *W.* from their country, there dwelt white bearded men, like me, and pointed to my great whiskers, which I mentioned before; and that they had killed *much mans*, that was his word: by all which I understood he meant the *Spaniards*, whose cruelties in *America* had been spread over the whole countries, and was remembered by all the nations from father to son.

I inquired if he could tell me how I might come from this island, and get among those white men: he told me, Yes, yes, I

and woods? He told me it was one old *Benamuckee* that lived beyond all; he could describe nothing of this great person, but that he was very old; much older, he said, than the sea or the land, than the moon or the stars. I asked him then, If this old person had made all things, why did not all things worship him? He looked very grave, and with a perfect look of innocence, said, *All things do say O! to him.* I asked him if the people who die in his country went away any-where? He said Yes, they all went to *Benamuckee*. Then I asked him, whether those they eat up went thither too? he said, Yes.

From these things I began to instruct him in the knowledge of the true Gov. I told him that the great Maker of all things lived up there, pointing up towards heaven: that he governs the world by the same power and providence by which he made it; that he was omnipotent, could do every thing for us, give every thing to us, take every thing from us; and thus, by degrees, I opened his eyes. He listened with great attention, and received with pleasure the notion of *Jesus Christ* being sent to redeem us, and of the manner of making our prayers to God, and his being able to hear us, even into heaven. He told me one day, that if our Gov could hear us up beyond the sun, he must needs be a greater Gov than their *Benamuckee*, who lived but a little way off, and yet could not hear, till they went up to the great mountains, where he dwelt, to speak to him. I asked him, if ever he went thither to speak to him? He said, No, they never went that were young men; none went thither but the old men; who he called their *Oxwakakee*, that is, as I made him explain it to me, their religious, or clergy; and that they went to say *O!* (so he called saying prayers), and then came back, and told them what *Benamuckee* said. By this I observed that there is priest-craft even amongst the most blinded ignorant Pagans in the world; and the policy of making a secret religion, in order to preserve the veneration of the people to the clergy, is not only to

be found in the *Roman*, but perhaps among all religions in the world, even among the most brutish and barbarous savages.

I endeavoured to clear up this fraud to my man *Friday*; and told him, that the pretence of their old men going up to the mountains to say *O!* to their God *Benamuckee*, was a cheat; and their bringing word from thence what he said, was much more so; that if they met with any answer, or spoke with any one here, it must be with an evil spirit: and then I entered into a long discourse with him about the devil, the original of him, his rebellion against God, his enmity to man, the reason of it, his setting himself up in the dark parts of the world to be worshipped instead of God, and as God, and the many stratagems he made use of to delude mankind to their ruin; how he had a secret access to our passions and to our affections, to adapt his snares so to our inclinations, as to cause us even to be our own tempters, and to run upon our destruction by our own choice.

I found it was not so easy to imprint right notions in his mind

enemy in the hearts of men, and used all his malice and skill to defeat the good designs of Providence, and to ruin the kingdom of CHRIST in the world, and the like: Well, says Friday, but you say God is so strong, so great, is he not much strong, much might as the devil? Yes, yes, said I, Friday, God is stronger than the devil: God is above the devil, and therefore we pray to God to tread him down under our feet, and enable us to resist his temptations, and quench his fiery darts. But, says he again, *If God much strong, much might as the devil, why God no kill the devil, so make him no more do wicked?*

I was strangely surprised at his question; and after all, though I was now an old man, yet I was but a young doctor, and ill enough qualified for a casuist or a solver of difficulties: and, at first, I could not tell what to say; so I pretended not to hear him, and asked him what he said? but he was too earnest for an answer to forget his question: so that he repeated it in the very same broken words as above. By this time I had recovered myself a little, and I said, *God will at last punish him severely; he is reserved for the judgment, and is to be cast into the bottomless pit, to dwell with everlasting fire.* This did not satisfy Friday; but he returns upon me, repeating my words, *Reserve at last! me no understand: but why not kill the devil now, not kill great ago?* You may as well ask me, said I, why God does not kill you and me, when we do wicked things here that offend him: we are preserved to repent and be pardoned. He muses awhile at this: *Well, well, says he, mighty affectionately, that well; so you, I, devil, all wicked, all preserve, repent, God pardon all.* Here I was run down again by him to the last degree, and it was a testimony to me, how the mere notions of nature, though they will guide reasonable creatures to the knowledge of a God, and of a worship or homage due to the supreme being of God, as the consequence of our nature; yet nothing but divine revelation can form the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and of a redemp-

tion purchased for us ; of a Mediator ; of a new covenant ; and of an Intercessor at the footstool of God's throne : I say nothing but a revelation from Heaven can form these in the soul ; and that therefore the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, I mean the word of God, and the Spirit of God, promised for the guide and sanctifier of his people, are the absolutely necessary instructors of the souls of men in the saving knowledge of God, and the means of salvation.

I therefore diverted the present discourse between me and my man, rising up hastily, as upon some sudden occasion of going out ; then sending him for something a good way off, I seriously prayed to God, that he would enable me to instruct savingly this poor savage, assisting by his Spirit the heart of the poor ignorant creature to receive the light of the knowledge of God in *Christ*, reconciling him to himself, and would guide me to speak so to him from the word of God, as his conscience might be convinced, his eyes opened, and his soul saved : when he

of this poor savage; and I had more affection in my inquiry after things upon this occasion, than ever I felt before: so that whether this poor wild wretch was the better for me or no, I had great reason to be thankful that ever he came to me: my grief was lighter upon me, my habitation grew comfortable to me beyond measure; and when I reflected, that in this solitary life, which I had been confined to, I had not only been moved myself to look up to Heaven, and to seek to the hand that had brought me there, but was now to be made an instrument, under Providence, to save the life, and, *for aught I knew*, the soul of a poor savage, and bring him to the true knowledge of religion, and of the Christian doctrine, that he might know CHRIST JESUS, *to know whom is life eternal*; I say, when I reflected upon all these things, a secret joy ran through every part of my soul, and I frequently rejoiced that ever I was brought to this place, which I had so often thought the most dreadful of all afflictions that could possibly have befallen me.

In this thankful frame I continued all the remainder of my time; and the conversation which employed the hours between Friday and I was such as made the three years which we lived there together perfectly and completely happy, *if any such thing as complete happiness can be formed in a sublunary state*. The savage was now a good Christian, a much better than I; though I have reason to hope, and bless God for it, that we were equally penitent, and comforted restored penitents: we had here the word of God to read, and no farther off from his Spirit to instruct than if we had been in England.

I always applied myself to reading the Scripture, and to let him know, as well as I could, the meaning of what I read; and he again by his serious inquiries and questions, made me, *as I said before*, a much better scholar in the Scripture knowledge, than I should ever have been by my own private mere reading: another thing I cannot refrain from observing here also, from

experience, in this retired part of my life; *viz.* how infinite and inexpressible a blessing it is, that the knowledge of God, and of the doctrine of salvation by *Christ Jesus*, is so plainly laid down in the word of God, so easy to be received and understood, that is the bare reading the Scripture made me capable of understanding enough of my duty to carry me directly on to the great work of sincere repentance for my sins, and laying hold of a Saviour for life and salvation, to a stated reformation in practice, and obedience to all God's commands, and this without any teacher or instructor, (I mean human) so the same plain instruction sufficiently served to the enlightening this savage creature, and bringing him to be such a Christian as I have known few equal to him in my life.

As to all the disputes, wranglings, strife and contention, which has happened in the world about religion, whether niceties in doctrines, or schemes of church government, they were all perfectly useless to us, as, for aught I can yet see, they have been

which he was wonderfully delighted with ; and I made him a belt with a frog hanging to it, such as in *England* we wear hangers in ; and in the frog, instead of a hanger, I gave him a hatchet, which was not only as good a weapon in some cases, but much more useful upon other occasions.

I described to him the countries of *Europe*, and particularly *England*, which I came from ; how we lived, how we worshipped *God*, how we behaved to one another, and how we traded in ships to all the parts of the world. I gave him an account of the wreck which I had been on board of, and shewed him, as near as I could, the place where she lay ; but she was all beaten in pieces before, and quite gone.

I shewed him the ruins of our boat, which we lost when we escaped, and which I could not stir with my whole strength then, but was now fallen almost all to pieces. Upon seeing this boat, *Friday* stood musing a great while, and said nothing. I asked him what it was he studied upon ? At last, says he, *Me see such boat like come to place as my nation.*

I did not understand him a good while ; but at last, when I had examined farther into it, I understood by him, that a boat, such as that had been, came on shore upon the country where he lived, that is, as he explained it, was driven thither by stress of weather. I presently imagined that some *European* ship must have been cast away upon their coast, and the boat might get loose, and drive ashore ; but was so dull, that I never once thought of men making escape from a wreck thither, much less whence they might come ; so I only inquired after a description of the boat.

*Friday* described the boat to me well enough ; but brought me better to understand him, when he added, with some warmth, *We save the white mans from drown* : then I presently asked him, if there were any white mans, as he called them, in the boat ? Yes, he said, *the boat full white mans*. I asked him, how

many? he told upon his fingers seventeen. I asked him then, what became of them? he told me, *They live, they dwell at my nation.*

This put new thoughts into my head; for I presently imagined, that these might be the men belonging to the ship that was cast away in sight of *my island*, as I now call it: and who, after the ship was struck on the rock, and they saw her inevitably lost, had saved themselves in their boat, and were landed upon that wild shore among the savages.

Upon this I inquired of him more critically, what was become of them? He assured me they lived still there, that they had been there about four years, that the savages let them alone, and gave them victuals to eat. I asked him, how it came to pass they did not kill them, and eat them? he said, *No, they make brother with them*: that is, as I understood him, a truce: and then he added, *They no eat mans but when make the war fight*: that is to say, they never eat any men, but such as come to fight

all his religion, but all his obligations to me ; and would be forward enough to give his countrymen an account of me, and come back perhaps with a hundred or two of them, and make a feast upon me, at which he might be as merry as he used to be with those of his enemies, when they were taken in war.

But I wronged the poor honest creature very much, for which I was very sorry afterwards : however, as my jealousy increased, and held me some weeks, I was a little more circumspect, and not so familiar and kind to him as before ; in which I was certainly in the wrong too, the honest grateful creature having no thought about it, but what consisted of the best principles, both as a religious Christian, and as a grateful friend ; as appeared afterwards, to my full satisfaction.

Whilst my jealousy of him lasted, you may be sure I was every day pumping him, to see if he would discover any of the new thoughts which I suspected were in him ; but I found every thing he said was so honest, and so innocent, that I could find nothing to nourish my suspicion ; and, in spite of all my uneasiness, he made me at last entirely his own again ; nor did he in the least perceive that I was uneasy ; and therefore I could not suspect him of deceit.

One day, walking up the same hill, but the weather being hazy at sea, so that we could not see the continent, I called to him, and said, *Friday*, do not you wish yourself in your own country, your own nation ? Yes, he said, he be much O glad to be *at his own nation*. What would you do there ? said I : would you turn wild again, eat men's flesh again : and be a savage as you were before ? He looked full of concern, and shaking his head, said, No, no, Friday tell them to live good, tell them to pray God, tell them to eat corn-bread, cattle-flesh, milk, no eat man again. Why then, said I to him, *they will kill you*. He looked grave at that, and then said, No, they no kill me, they willing *we learn* : he meant by this, they would be willing to learn. He

added, they learned much of the bearded mans that came in the boat. Then I asked him, if he would go back to them? He smiled at that, and told me he could not swim so far. I told him I would make a *canoe* for him. He told me *he would go, if I would go with him*. I go! said I, why they will eat me if I come there. No, no, says he, *Me make them no eat you, me make they much love you*: he meant he would tell them how I had killed his enemies and saved his life, and so he would make them love me. Then he told me, as well as he could, how kind they were to seventeen white men, or bearded men, as he called them, who came on shore there in distress.

From this time, I confess, I had a mind to venture over, and see if I could possibly join with these bearded men, who, I made no doubt, were *Spaniards* or *Portuguese*; not doubting but if I could, we might find some method to escape from thence, being upon the continent, and a good company together, better than could from an island forty miles off the shore, and alone with

ner rotten. Friday told me, such a boat would do very well, and would carry much enough vittle, drink, bread : that was his way of talking.

Upon the whole, I was by this time so fixed upon my design of going over with him to the continent, that I told him we would go and make one as big as that, and he should go home in it. He answered not one word, but looked very grave and sad. I asked him, what was the matter with him ? He asked me again thus, *Why you angry mad with Friday ? what me done ?* I asked him what he meant ? I told him I was not angry with him at all. *No angry, no angry !* says he, repeating the words several times. *Why send Friday home away to my nation ?* Why, said I, Friday, did you not say you wished you were there ? Yes, yes, says he, *wish be both there ; no wish Friday there, no master there.* In a word, he would not think of going there without me. *I go there, Friday !* said I, *what should I do there ?* He turned very quick upon me at this. *You do great deal much good, says he, you teach wild mans be good, sober, tame mans ; you tell them know God, pray God, and live new life.* Alas, Friday, said I, thou knowest not what thou sayest ; I am but an ignorant man myself. Yes, yes, says he, *you teehee me good, you teehee them good.* No, no, Friday, said I, *you shall go without me ; leave me here to live by myself, as I did before.* He looked confused again at that word, and running to one of the hatchets which he used to wear, he takes it up hastily, comes and gives it me. *What must I do with this ?* says I to him. *You take kill Friday, says he. What must I kill you for ?* said I again. He returns very quick, *What you send Friday away for ? Take kill Friday, no send Friday away.* This he spoke so earnestly, that I saw tears stand in his eyes. In a word, I so plainly discovered the utmost affection in him to me, and a firm resolution in him, that I told him then, and often after, that I would never send him away from me, if he was willing to stay with me.

Upon the whole, as I found by all his discourse a settled affection to me, and that nothing should part him from me, so I found all the foundation of his desire to go to his own country was laid in his ardent affection to the people, and his hopes of my doing them good; a thing which as I had no notion of myself, so I had not the least thought, or intention, or desire of undertaking it: but still I found a strong inclination to my attempting an escape, as above, founded on the supposition gathered from the discourse; *viz.* that there were seventeen bearded men there: and therefore, without any more delay, I went to work with *Friday*, to find out a great tree proper to fell, and make a large periagua or canoe, to undertake the voyage. There were trees enough in the island to have built a little fleet, not of periaguas and canoes only, but even of good large vessels: but the main thing I looked at, was to get one so near the water, that we might launch it when it was made, to avoid the mistake I committed at first.









amazed me to see with what dexterity and how swift my man Friday would manage her, turn her, and paddle her along ; so I asked him if he would, and if we might venture over in her ? Yes, he said, he venture over in her very well, though great blow wind : however, I had a farther design that he knew nothing of, and that was to make a mast and sail, and to fit her with an anchor and cable. As to a mast, that was easy enough to get, so I pitched upon a straight young cedar-tree, which I found near the place, and which there was a great plenty of in the island ; and I set Friday to work to cut it down, and gave him directions how to shape and order it : but as to the sail, that was my particular care ; I knew I had old sails or rather pieces of old sails enough ; but as I had had them now twenty-six years by me, and had not been very careful to preserve them, not imagining that I should ever have this kind of use for them, I did not doubt but they were all rotten ; and indeed most of them were so : however, I found two pieces which appeared pretty good, and with these I went to work, and with a great deal of pains, and awkward tedious stitching (you may be sure) for want of needles, I at length made a three-cornered ugly thing, like what we call in *England* a shoulder-of-mutton sail, to go with a boom at bottom, and a little short sprit at the top, such as usually our ships long-boats sail with, and such as I best knew how to manage ; because it was such a one as I had to the boat in which I made my escape from *Barbary*, as related in the first part of my story.

I was near two months performing this last work ; viz. rigging and fitting my mast and sails ; for I finished them very compleat, making a small stay, and a sail or fore-sail to it, to assist, if we should turn to windward ; and, which was more than all, I fixed a rudder to the stern of her, to steer with ; and though I was but a bungling shipwright, yet, as I knew the usefulness, and even necessity of such a thing, I applied myself

with so much pains to do it, that at last I brought it to pass, though, considering the many dull contrivances I had for it that failed, I think it cost me almost as much labour as making the boat.

After all this was done, I had my man *Friday* to teach as to what belonged to the navigation of my boat; for though he knew very well how to paddle the *canoe*, he knew nothing what belonged to a sail and a rudder, and was the more amazed when he saw me work the boat to-and-again in the sea by the rudder, and how the sail gybed, and filled this way or that way, as the course we sailed changed; I say, when he saw this, he stood like one astonished and amazed; however, with a little use, I made all these things familiar to him, and he became an expert sailor, except that as to the compass I could make him understand very little of that: on the other hand, as there was very little cloudy weather, and seldom or never any fogs in those parts, there was the less occasion for a compass, seeing the stars were always to

The rainy season was in the meantime upon me, when I kept more within doors than at other times: so I had stowed our new vessel as secure as we could, bringing her up into the creek, where, as I said in the beginning, I landed my rafts from the ship: and haling her up to the shore, at high water mark, I made my man *Friday* dig a little dock, just big enough to hold her, and just deep enough to give her water to float in; and then, when the tide was out, we made a strong dam cross the end of it, to keep the water out; and so she lay dry, as to the tide, from the sea; and to keep the rain off, we laid a great many boughs of trees so thick, that she was as well thatched as a house; and thus we waited for the months of *November* and *December*, in which I designed to make my adventure.

When the settled season began to come in, as the thought of my design returned with the fair weather, I was preparing daily for the voyage; and the first thing I did was to lay by a certain quantity of provision, being the stores for the voyage; and intended, in a week or a fortnight's time, to open the dock, and launch out our boat. I was busy one morning upon something of this kind, when I called to *Friday*, and bid him go to the sea shore, and see if he could find a turtle or tortoise, a thing which we generally got once a week, for the sake of the eggs as well as the flesh. *Friday* had not been long gone, when he came running back, and flew over my outward wall, or fence, like one that felt not the ground, or the steps he set his feet on: and before I had time to speak to him, he cries out to me, *O master! O master! O sorrow! O bad!* What's the matter, *Friday?* said I. *O yonder there, says he, one, two, three canoe! one, two, three!* By his way of speaking I concluded there were six; but on inquiry I found there were but three. Well, *Friday*, said I, do not be frightened; so I heartened him up as well as I could. However, I saw the poor fellow was most terribly scared; for nothing ran in his head but that they were come to look for

him, and would cut him in pieces, and eat him, and the poor fellow trembled so, that I scarce knew what to do with him : I comforted him as well as I could, and told him I was in as much danger as he, and that they would eat me as well as him : *but*, said I, *Friday, we must resolve to fight them: Can you fight, Friday? Me shoot, says he, but there come many great number.* No matter for that, said I again, our guns will fright them that we do not kill. So I asked him, whether, if I resolved to defend him, he would defend me, and stand by me, and do just as I bid him? He said, *Me die, when you bid die, master*; so I went and fetched a good dram of rum, and gave him; for I had been so good a husband of my rum, that I had a great deal left: when he had drank it, I made him take the two fowling-pieces which we always carried, and load them with large swan-shot as big as small pistol-bullets; then I took four muskets, and loaded them with two slugs, and five small bullets each; and my two pistols I loaded with a brace of bullets each: I hung my great

his spirits being a little raised with the dram I had given him, he was very cheerful ; and told me, as before, *he would die when I bid die.*

In this fit of fury, I took first and divided the arms which I had charged, as before, between us ; I gave *Friday* one pistol to stick in his girdle, and three guns upon his shoulder ; and I took one pistol, and the other three myself ; and in this posture we marched out. I took a small bottle of rum in my pocket, and gave *Friday* a large bag with more powder and bullet ; and as to orders, I charged him to keep close behind me, and not to stir, or shoot, or do any thing till I bid him ; and in the meantime, not to speak a word : in this posture I fetched a compass to my right hand of near a mile, as well to get over the creek as to get into the wood ; so that I might come within shoot of them before I could be discovered, which I had seen by my glass it was easy to do.

While I was making this march, my former thoughts returning, I began to abate my resolution ; I do not mean, that I entertained any fear of their number ; for as they were naked, unarmed wretches, it is certain I was superior to them : nay, though I had been alone : but it occurred to my thoughts, what call, what occasion, much less what necessity I was in, to go and dip my hands in blood, to attack people who had neither done or intended me any wrong ; who, as to me, were innocent, and whose barbarous customs were their own disaster, being in them a token indeed of God's having left them, with the other nations of that part of the world, to such stupidity and to such inhuman courses ; but did not call me to take upon me to be a judge of their actions, much less an executioner of his justice ; that whenever he thought fit, he would take the cause into his own hands, and by national vengeance punish them, as a people, for national crimes ; but that in the meantime, it was none of my business : that it was true, *Friday* might justify it, because he was a

declared enemy, and in a state of war with those very particular people, and it was lawful for him to attack them ; but I could not say the same with respect to me. These things were so warmly pressed upon my thoughts all the way as I went, that I resolved I would only go and place myself near them, that I might observe their barbarous feast, and that I would act then as God should direct ; but that unless something offered that was more a call to me than yet I knew of, I would not meddle with them.

With this resolution I entered the wood, and with all possible wariness and silence (*Friday* following close at my heels) I marched till I came to the skirt of the wood, on the side which was next to them ; only that one corner of the wood lay between me and them : here I called softly to *Friday*, and shewing him a great tree, which was just at the corner of the wood, I bade him go to the tree, and bring me word if he could see there plainly what they were doing : he did so, and came immediately

held my passion, though I was indeed enraged to the highest degree: and going back about twenty paces, I got behind some bushes, which held all the way till I came to the other tree, and then I came to a little rising ground, which gave me a full view of them, at the distance of about eighty yards.

I had now not a moment to lose; for nineteen of the dreadful wretches sat upon the ground all close huddled together, and had just sent the other two to butcher the poor *Christian*, and bring him, perhaps limb by limb, to their fire; and they were stooped down to untie the hands at his feet. I turned to *Friday*; Now, *Friday*, said I, do as I bid thee. *Friday* said, he would. Then, *Friday*, says I, do exactly as you see me do; fail in nothing. So I set down one of the muskets and the fowling-piece upon the ground, and *Friday* did the like by his; and with the other musket I took my aim at the savages, bidding him do the like. Then asking him if he was ready, he said, Yes. Then fire at them, said I; and the same moment I fired also.

*Friday* took his aim so much better than I, that on the side that he shot, he killed two of them, and wounded three more; and on my side, I killed one, and wounded two. They were, you may be sure, in a dreadful consternation: and all of them, who were not hurt, jumped up upon their feet, but did not immediately know which way to run, or which way to look; for they knew not from whence their destruction came. *Friday* kept his eyes close upon me, that as I had bid him, he might observe what I did; so as soon as the first shot was made, I threw down the piece, and took up the fowling-piece, and *Friday* did the like: he sees me cock, and present; he did the same again. Are you ready, *Friday*? said I. Yes, says he. Let fly then, said I, in the name of God; and with that I fired again among the amazed wretches, and so did *Friday*; and as our pieces were now loaden with what I called swan-shot, or small pistol-bullets, we found only two drop; but so many were wounded, that they

ran about yelling and screaming like mad creatures, all bloody, and miserably wounded most of them ; whereof three more fell quickly after, though not quite dead.

Now *Friday*, says I, laying down the discharged pieces, and taking up the musket, which was yet loaden, follow me, says I ; which he did, with a great deal of courage ; upon which I rushed out of the wood, and showed myself, and *Friday* close at my foot : as soon as I perceived they saw me, I shouted as loud as I could, and bade *Friday* do so too ; and running as fast as I could, which by the way was not very fast, being loaden with arms as I was, I made directly towards the poor victim, who was, as I said, lying upon the beach or shore, between the place where they sat and the sea ; the two butchers, who were just going to work with him, had left him, at the surprise of our first fire, and fled in a terrible fright to the sea-side, and had jumped into a canoe, and three more of the rest made the same way : I turned to *Friday*, and bid him step forwards, and fire at them ; he understood me immediately, and running about forty yards to be near them, he shot at them, and I thought he had killed them all ; for I see them all fall of a heap into the boat, though I saw two of them up again quickly : however he killed two of them, and wounded the third, so that he lay down in the bottom of the boat, as if he had been dead.

While my man *Friday* fired at them, I pulled out my knife, and cut the flags that bound the poor victim ; and loosing his hands and feet I lifted him up, and asked him in the Portuguese tongue, what he was ? He answered in Latin, *Christianus* ; but was so weak and faint, that he could scarce stand, or speak ; I took my bottle out of my pocket, and gave it him, making signs that he should drink, which he did ; and I gave him a piece of bread, which he eat ; then I asked him, what countryman he was ? and he said, *Espagnole* ; and, being a little recovered, let me know, by all the signs he could possibly make, how much he was in my debt for his deliverance. Seignior, said I, with as much Spanish

as I could make up, we will talk afterwards, but we must figh now: if you have any strength left, take this pistol and sword, and lay about you: he took them very thankfully, and no sooner had he the arms in his hands, but as if they had put new vigour into him, he flew upon his murderers like a fury, and had cut two of them in pieces in an instant; for the truth is, as the whole was a surprise to them, so the poor creatures were so much frightened with the noise of our pieces, that they fell down for mere amazement and fear, and had no more power to attempt their own escape, than their flesh had to resist our shot; and that was the case of those five that *Friday* shot at in the boat; for as three of them fell with the hurt they received, so the other two fell with the fright.

I kept my piece in my hand still, without firing, being willing to keep my charge ready, because I had given the *Spaniard* my pistol and sword. so I called to *Friday*, and bad him run up to the tree from whence we first fired, and fetch the arms which lay there, that had been discharged, which he did with great swiftness; and then giving him my musket, I sat down myself to load all the rest again, and bade them come to me when they wanted. While I was loading these pieces, there happened a fierce engagement between the *Spaniard* and one of the savages, who made at him with one of their great wooden swords, the same weapon that was to have killed him before, if I had not prevented it. The *Spaniard*, who was as bold and as brave as could be imagined, though weak, had fought this *Indian* a good while, and had cut him two great wounds on his head; but the savage, being a stout lusty fellow, closing in with him, had thrown him down (being faint), and was wringing my sword out of his hand, when the *Spaniard*, though undermost, wisely quitting his sword, drew the pistol from his girdle, shot the savage through the body, and kil'd him upon the spot, before I, who was running to help him, could come near him.

*Friday*, being now left at his liberty, pursued the flying

wretches with no weapon in his hand but his hatchet ; and with that he dispatched those three, who, as I said before, were wounded at first, and fallen, and all the rest he could come up with ; and the *Spaniard* coming to me for a gun, I gave him one of the fowling pieces, with which he pursued two of the savages, and wounded them both ; but as he was not able to run, they both got from him into the wood, where *Friday* pursued them, and killed one of them ; but the other was too nimble for him ; and though he was wounded, yet had plunged himself into the sea, and swam with all his might off to those two who were left in the *canoe*, which three in the *canoe*, with one wounded, who we know not whether he died or no, were all that escaped our hands of one-and-twenty. The account of the rest is as follows :

- 3 Killed at our shot from the tree.
- 2 Killed at the next shot.
- 2 Killed by *Friday* in the boat.

canoes, I jumped in, and bade *Friday* follow me; but when I was in the canoe, I was surprised to find another poor creature lie there alive, bound hand and foot, as the Spaniard was, for the slaughter, and almost dead with fear, not knowing what the matter was; for he had not been able to look up over the side of the boat, he was tied so hard, neck and heels, and had been tied so long, that he had really little life in him.

I immediately cut the twisted flags, or rushes, which they had bound him with, and would have helped him up; but he could not stand, or speak, but groaned most pitifully, believing, it seems, still, that he was only unbound in order to be killed.

When *Friday* came to him, I bade him speak to him, and tell him of his deliverance; and pulling out my bottle, made him give the poor wretch a dram, which, with the news of his being delivered, revived him, and he sat up in the boat; but when *Friday* came to hear him speak, and look in his face, it would have moved any one to tears, to have seen how *Friday* kissed him, embraced him, hugged him, cried, laughed, hallooed, jumped about, danced, sung, then cried again, wrung his hands, beat his own face and head, and then sung and jumped about again like a distracted creature. It was a good while before I could make him speak to me, or tell me what was the matter; but when he came a little to himself, he told me that it was his father.

It was not easy for me to express how it moved me, to see what ecstasy and filial affection had worked in this poor savage, at the sight of his father, and of his being delivered from death; nor indeed can I describe half the extravagancies of his affection after this; for he went into the boat and out of the boat a great many times: when he went in to him, he would sit down by him, open his breast, and hold his father's head close to his bosom half an hour together, to nourish it; then he took his arms and ankles, which were numbed and stiff with the binding,

and chafed and rubbed them with his hands ; and I, perceiving what the case was, gave him some rum out of my bottle to rub them with, which did them a great deal of good.

This action put an end to our pursuit of the canoe with the other *savages*, who were now gotten almost out of sight ; and it was happy for us that we did not ; for it blew so hard within two hours after, and before they could be gotten a quarter of their way, and continued blowing so hard all night, and that from the *north-west*, which was against them, that I could not suppose their boat could live, or that they ever reached to their own coast.

But to return to *Friday* ; he was so busy about his father, that I could not find in my heart to take him off for some time : but after I thought he could leave him a little, I called him to me, and he came jumping and laughing, and pleased to the highest extreme. Then I asked him, if he had given his father any bread ? He shook his head, and said, *None : ugly dog eat*

that he had got two more cakes or loaves of bread. The bread he gave me, but the water he carried to his father: however, as I was very thirsty too, I took a little sup of it: this water revived his father more than all the rum or spirits I had given him; for he was just fainting with thirst.

When his father had drank, I called to him, to know if there was any water left; he said, Yes; and I bade him give it to the poor Spaniard, who was in as much want of it as his father; and I sent one of the cakes, that *Friday* brought, to the Spaniard too, who was indeed very weak, and was reposing himself upon a green place, under the shade of a tree, and whose limbs were also very stiff, and very much swelled with the rude bandage he had been tied with: when I saw that upon *Friday*'s coming to him with the water, he sat up and drank, and took the bread, and began to eat, I went to him, and gave him a handful of raisins; he looked up in my face, with all the tokens of gratitude and thankfulness that could appear in any countenance; but was so weak, notwithstanding he had so exerted himself in the fight, that he could not stand up upon his feet; he tried to do it two or three times, but was really not able, his ankles were so swelled and so painful to him; so I bade him sit still, and caused *Friday* to rub his ankles, and bathe them with rum, as he had done his father's.

I observed the poor affectionate creature every two minutes, or perhaps less, all the while he was here, turned his head about, to see if his father was in the same place and posture as he left him sitting: and at last he found he was not to be seen; at which he started up, and, without speaking a word, flew with that swiftness to him, that one could scarce perceive his feet to touch the ground as he went: but when he came, he only found he had laid himself down to ease his limbs: so *Friday* came back to me presently, and I then spoke to the Spaniard to let *Friday* help him up, if he could, and lead him to the boat, and then he should

carry him to our dwelling, where I would take care of him : but *Friday*, a lusty strong fellow, took the *Spaniard* quite up upon his back, and carried him away to the boat, and set him down softly upon the side or gunnel of the canoe, with his feet in the inside of it, and then lifted them quite in, and set him close to his father, and presently stepping out again, launched the boat off, and paddled it along the shore faster than I could walk, though the wind blew pretty hard too ; so he brought them both safe into our creek ; and leaving them in the boat, runs away to fetch the other canoe. As he passed me, I spoke to him, and asked him, whither he went ? He told me, *Go fetch more boat* ; so away he went like the wind ; for sure never man or horse run like him, and he had the other canoe in the creek almost as soon as I got to it by land ; so he wafted me over, and then went to help our new guests out of the boat, which he did ; but they were neither of them able to walk ; so that poor *Friday* knew not what to do.

made, how like a king I looked : first of all the whole country was my own mere property ; so that I had an undoubted right of dominion ; 2dly, My people were perfectly subjected. I was absolute lord and lawgiver ; they all owed their lives to me, and were ready to lay down their lives, *if there had been occasion for it*, for me ; it was remarkable too, I had but three subjects, and they were of three different religions. My man *Friday* was a protestant, his father a *pagan* and a *cannibal* ; and the *Spaniard* was a papist : however, I allowed liberty of conscience throughout my dominions : but this is by the way.

As soon as I had secured my two weak rescued prisoners, and given them shelter, and a place to rest them upon, I began to think of making some provision for them ; and the first thing I did, I ordered *Friday* to take a yearling goat, betwixt a kid and a goat, out of my particular flock, to be killed : when I cut off the hinder quarter, and, chopping it into small pieces, I set *Friday* to work to boiling and stewing, and made them a very good dish, I assure you, of flesh and broth ; having put some barley and rice also into the broth, and as I cooked it without doors (for I made no fire within my inner wall) so I carried it all into the new tent ; and having set a table there for them, I sat down and eat my dinner also with them ; and, as well as I could, cheered them and encouraged them, *Friday* being my interpreter, especially to his father, and indeed to the *Spaniard* too : for the *Spaniard* spoke the language of the *savages* pretty well.

After we had dined, or rather supped, I ordered *Friday* to take one of the canoes, and go and fetch our musquets and other fire-arms, which for want of time, we had left upon the place of battle ; and the next day I ordered him to go and bury the dead bodies of the savages, which lay open to the sun, and would presently be offensive ; and I also ordered him to bury the horrid remains of their barbarous feast, which I knew were pretty much, *and which I could not think of doing myself* ; nay, I could not

bear to see them, if I went that way ; all which he punctually performed, and defaced the very appearance of the *savages* being there ; so that when I went again, I could scarce know where it was, otherwise than by the corner of the wood pointing to the place.

I then began to enter into a little conversation with my two new subjects ; and first I set *Friday* to inquire of his father, what he thought of the escape of the *savages* in that canoe ? and whether we might expect a return of them with a power too great for us to resist ? His first opinion was, that the *savages* in the boat never could live out the storm which blew that night they went off, but must of necessity be drowned or driven *south* to those other shores, where they were as sure to be devoured, as they were to be drowned if they were cast away ; but as to what they would do if they came safe on shore, he said he knew not : but it was his opinion, that they were so dreadfully frightened with the manner of their being attacked, the noise, and the fire, that he

I and all my army ; for as we were now four of us, I would have ventured upon a hundred of them fairly in the open field at any time.

In a little time, however, no more canoes appearing, the fear of their coming wore off, and I began to take my former thoughts of a voyage to the main into consideration, being likewise assured by Friday's father, that I might depend upon good usage from their nation on his account, if I would go.

But my thoughts were a little suspended, when I had a serious discourse with the *Spaniard*, and when I understood, that there were sixteen more of his countrymen and *Portuguese*, who having been cast away, and made their escape to that side, lived there at peace indeed with the savages, but were very sore put to it for necessaries, and indeed for life. I asked him all the particulars of their voyage, and found they were a *Spanish* ship bound from the *Rio de la Plata* to the *Havanna*, being directed to leave their loading there, which was chiefly hides and silver, and to bring back what *European* goods they could meet with there ; that they had five *Portuguese* seamen on board, who they took out of another wreck ; that five of their own men were drowned when first the ship was lost ; and that these escaped through infinite dangers and hazards, and arrived almost starved on the *Cannibal* coast, where they expected to have been devoured every moment.

He told me, they had some arms with them, but they were perfectly useless, for that they had neither powder or ball, the washing of the sea having spoiled all their powder, but a little which they used at their first landing to provide themselves some food.

I asked him what he thought would become of them there ; and if they had formed no design of making any escape ? He said, they had many consultations about it ; but that having neither vessel, or tools to build one, or provisions of any kind, their counsels always ended in tears and despair.

I asked him how he thought they would receive a proposal from me, which might tend towards an escape; and whether, if they were all here, it might not be done? I told him with freedom, I feared mostly their treachery and ill-usage of me, if I put my life in their hands; for that gratitude was no inherent virtue in the nature of man; nor did men always square their dealings by the obligations they had received, so much as they did by the advantages they expected. I told him, it would be very hard, that I should be the instrument of their deliverance, and that they should afterwards make me their prisoner in *New Spain*, where an *Englishman* was certain to be made a sacrifice, what necessity, or what accident soever, brought him thither; and that I had rather be delivered up to the *savages*, and be devoured alive, than fall into the merciless claws of the priests, and be carried into the *inquisition*. I added, that otherwise I was persuaded, if they were all here, we might, with so many hands, build a bark large enough to carry us all away either to the *Brasils*

be directed wholly and absolutely by my orders, till they were landed safely in such country as I intended ; and that he would bring a contract from them under their hands for that purpose.

Then he told me, he would first swear to me himself, that he would never stir from me as long as he lived, till I gave him orders ; and that he would take my side to the last drop of his blood, if there should happen the least breach of faith among his countrymen.

He told me, they were all of them very civil honest men, and they were under the greatest distress imaginable, having neither weapons or clothes, nor any food, but at the mercy and discretion of the savages ; out of all hopes of ever returning to their own country ; and that he was sure, if I would undertake their relief, they would live and die by me.

Upon these assurances, I resolved to venture to relieve them, if possible, and to send the old *savage* and this *Spaniard* over to them to treat : but when he had gotten all things in readiness to go, the *Spaniard* himself started an objection, which had so much prudence in it on one hand, and so much sincerity on the other hand, that I could not but be very well satisfied in it ; and, by his advice, put off the deliverance of his comrades for at least half a year. The case was thus :

He had been with us now about a month ; during which time I had let him see in what manner I had provided, with the assistance of Providence, for my support, and he saw evidently what stock of corn and rice I had lain up ; which, as it was more than sufficient for myself, so it was not sufficient, at least without good husbandry, for my family, now it was increased to number four : but much less would it be sufficient, if his countrymen, who were, as he said, fourteen still alive, should come over ; and least of all would it be sufficient to victual our vessel, if we should build one, for a voyage to any of the Christian colonies of America. So he told me he thought it would be more

advisable, to let him and the two other dig and cultivate some more land, as much as I could spare seed to sow; and that we should wait another harvest, that we might have supply of corn for his countrymen when they should come; for want might be a temptation to them to disagree, or not to think themselves delivered, otherwise than out of one difficulty into another. You know, says he, the children of *Israel*, though they rejoiced at first at their being delivered out of *Egypt*, yet rebelled even against God himself, that delivered them, when they came to want bread in the wilderness.

His caution was so seasonable, and his advice so good, that I could not but be very well pleased with his proposal, as well as I was satisfied with his fidelity: so we fell to digging, all four of us, as well as the wooden tools we were furnished with permitted; and in about a month's time, by the end of which it was seed-time, we had gotten as much land cured and trimmed up as we sowed twenty-two bushels of barley on, and sixteen jars of rice,

planks, and I caused them to do the like, till they had made about a dozen large planks of good oak, near two foot broad, thirty-five foot long, and from two inches to four inches thick: what prodigious labour it took up, any one may imagine.

At the same time I contrived to increase my little flock of tame goats as much as I could; and to this purpose I made *Friday* and the *Spaniard* to go out one day, and myself, with *Friday*, the next day, for we took our turns: and by this means we got above twenty young kids to breed up with the rest: for whenever we shot the dam, we saved the kids, and added them to our flock: but above all, the season for curing the grapes coming on, I caused such a prodigious quantity to be hung up in the sun, that I believe, had we been at *Alceans*, where the raisins of the sun are cured, we should have filled sixty or eighty barrels; and these, with our bread, was a great part of our food, and very good living too, I assure you; for it is an exceeding nourishing food.

It was now harvest, and our crop in good order: it was not the most plentiful increase I had seen in the island, but, however, it was enough to answer our end; for from twenty-two bushels of barley, we brought in and threshed out above two hundred and twenty bushels: and the like in proportion of the rice, which was store enough for our food to the next harvest, though all the sixteen *Spaniards* had been on shore with me; or, if we had been ready for a voyage, it would very plentifully have victualled our ship, to have carried us to any part of the world, that is to say, of *America*. When we had thus housed and secured our magazine of corn, we fell to work to make more wicker-work; viz. great baskets, in which we kept it; and the *Spaniard* was very handy and dexterous at this part, and often blamed me, that I did not make some things for defence of this kind of work: but I saw no need of it. And now, having a full supply of food for all the guests I expected, I gave the *Spaniard* leave to go

over to the *main*, to see what he could do with those he left behind him there. I gave him a strict charge in writing, not to bring any man with him, who would not first swear, in the presence of himself and the old *savage*, that he would no way injure, fight with, or attack the person he should find in the island, who was so kind to send for them in order to their deliverance; but that they would stand by and defend him against all such attempts; and wherever they went, would be entirely under, and subjected to his commands, and that this should be put in writing, and signed with their hands: how we were to have this done, when I knew they had neither pen or ink, that indeed was a question which we never asked.

Under these instructions, the *Spaniard*, and the old *savage* (the father of *Friday*) went away in one of the canoes, which they might be said to come in, or rather were brought in, when they came as prisoners to be devoured by the *savages*.

I gave each of them a musket with a firelock on it, and about

when I afterwards examined my account, I found I had kept a true reckoning of years.

It was no less than eight days I had waited for them, when a strange and unforeseen accident intervened of which the like has not, perhaps, been heard of in history. I was fast asleep in my butch one morning, when my man *Friday* came running in to me, and called aloud, Master, Master, they are come, they are come.

I jumped up, and, regardless of danger, I went out as soon as I could get my clothes on, through my little grove, which (by the way) was by this time grown to be a very thick wood; I say, regardless of danger, I went without my arms, which was not my custom to do: but I was surprised, when turning my eyes to the sea, I presently saw a boat at about a league and a half's distance, standing in for the shore, with a *shoulder of mizen sail*, as they call it, and the wind blowing pretty fair to bring them in: also I observed presently, that they did not come from that side which the shore lay on, but from the southermost end of the island. Upon this I called *Friday* in, and bid him lie close, for these were not the people we looked for, and that we might not know yet whether they were friends or enemies.

In the next place, I went in to fetch my perspective glass, to see what I could make of them: and having taken the ladder out, I climbed up to the top of the hill, as I used to do when I was apprehensive of any thing, and to take my view the plainer without being discovered.

I had scarce set my foot on the hill, when my eye plainly discovered a ship lying at an anchor, at about two leagues and a half's distance from me, S. S. E., but not above a league and a half from the shore. By my observation it appeared plainly to be an *English* ship, and the boat appeared to be an *English* long-boat.

I cannot express the confusion I was in, though the joy of seeing a ship, and one whom I had reason to believe was manned.

by my own countrymen, and consequently friends, was such as I cannot describe; but yet I had some secret doubts hung about me, I cannot tell from whence they came, bidding me keep upon my guard. In the first place it occurred to me to consider what business an *English* ship could have in that part of the world; since it was not the way to or from any part of the world where the *English* had any traffick; and I knew there had been no storms to drive them in there, as in distress; and that if they were *English* really, it was most probable that they were here upon no good design; and that I had better continue as I was, than fall into the hands of thieves and murderers.

Let no man despise the secret hints and notices of danger, which sometimes are given him when he may think there is no possibility of its being real. That such hints and notices are given us, I believe few that have made any observations of things can deny; that they are certain discoveries of an invisible world, and a converse of spirits, we cannot doubt; and if the tendency

my door, and would soon have beaten me out of my castle, and perhaps, have plundered me of all I had.

When they were on shore, I was fully satisfied they were Englishmen, at least most of them; one or two I thought were Dutch, but it did not prove so; there were in all eleven men, whereof three of them I found were unarmed, and (as I thought) bound, and when the first four or five of them were jumped on shore, they took those three out of the boat as prisoners. One of the three I could perceive using the most passionate gestures of entreaty, affliction and despair, even to a kind of extravagance; the other two, I could perceive, lifted up their hands sometimes, and appeared concerned indeed, but not to such a degree as the first.

I was perfectly confounded at the sight, and knew not what the meaning of it should be. *Friday* called out to me in English, as well as he could, O master! you see English mans eat prisoners as well as savage mans. Why, said I, *Friday*, do you think they are going to eat them then? Yes, says *Friday*, they will eat them. No, no, said I, *Friday*; I am afraid they will murder them indeed; but you may be sure they will not eat them.

All this while I had no thought of what the matter really was, but stood trembling with the horror of the sight, expecting every moment when the three prisoners should be killed; nay, once I saw one of the villains lift up his arm with a great cutlass (as the seamen call it) or sword, to strike one of the poor men; and I expected to see him fall every moment, at which all the blood in my body seemed to run chill in my veins.

I wished heartily now for my *Spaniard*, and the *savage* that was gone with him; or that I had any way to have come undiscovered within shot of them, that I might have rescued the three men; for I saw no fire-arms they had among them; but it fell out to my mind another way.

After I had observed the outrageous usage of the three men by the insolent seamen, I observed the fellows ran scattering

about the land, as if they wanted to see the country. I observed, that the three other men had liberty to go also where they pleased ; but they sat down all three upon the ground very pensive, and looked like men in despair.

This put me in mind of the first time when I came on shore, and began to look about me ; how I gave myself over for lost, how wildly I looked round me, what dreadful apprehensions I had, and how I lodged in the tree all night for fear of being devoured by wild beasts.

As I knew nothing that night of the supply I was to receive by the providential driving of the ship nearer the land, by the storms and tide by which I have since been so long nourished and supported ; so these three poor desolate men knew nothing how certain of deliverance and supply they were, how near it was to them, and how effectually and really they were in a condition of safety, at the same time that they thought themselves lost, and their case desperate.

boat too fast aground for him to stir it, hallooed for the rest who were straggling about, upon which they all soon came to the boat; but it was past all their strength to launch her, the boat being very heavy, and the shore on that side being a soft oozy sand, almost like a quicksand.

In this condition, like true seamen, who are, perhaps, the least of all mankind given to forethought, they gave it over, and away they strolled about the country again; and I heard one of them say aloud to another (calling them off from the boat), *Why let her alone, Jack, can't ye? she'll float next tide.* By which I was fully confirmed in the main inquiry, of what countrymen they were.

All this while I kept myself very close, not once daring to stir out of my castle, any farther than to my place of observation, near the top of the hill; and very glad I was, to think how well it was fortified. I knew it was no less than ten hours before the boat could be on float again, and by that time it would be dark, and I might be more at liberty to see their motions, and to hear their discourse, if they had any.

In the mean time I fitted myself up for a battle, as before, though with more caution, knowing I had to do with another kind of enemy than I had at first. I ordered *Friday* also, whom I had made an excellent marksman with his gun, to load himself with arms. I took myself two fowling pieces, and I gave him three musquets: my figure, indeed, was very fierce; I had my formidable goat-skin coat on, with the great cap I have mentioned, a naked sword by my side, two pistols in my belt, and a gun upon each shoulder.

It was my design, as I said above, not to have made any attempt till it was dark; but about two o'clock, being the heat of the day, I found that in short they were all gone straggling into the woods, and, as I thought, were laid down to sleep; the three poor distressed men too anxious for their condition to get

any sleep, were however set down under the shelter of a great tree, at about a quarter of a mile from me, and as I thought, out of sight of any of the rest.

Upon this I resolved to discover myself to them, and learn something of their condition. Immediately I marched in the figure as above, my man *Friday* at a good distance behind me, as formidable for his arms as I, but not making quite so staring a *spectre-like* figure as I did.

I came as near them undiscovered as I could, and then, before any of them saw me, I called aloud to them in *Spanish*, *What are ye, Gentlemen?*

They started up at the noise; but were ten times more confounded when they saw me, and the uncouth figure that I made: they made no answer at all, but I thought I perceived them just going to fly from me, when I spoke to them in *English*. Gentlemen, said I, do not be surprised at me; perhaps you may have a friend near you, when you did not expect it. He must

Our case, said he, Sir, is too long to tell you, while our murderers are so near ; but in short, Sir, I was commander of that ship ; my men have mutinied against me, they have been hardly prevailed on not to murder me, and at last have set me on shore in this desolate place, with these two men with me, one my mate, the other a passenger ; where we expected to perish, believing the place to be uninhabited, and know not yet what to think of it.

Where are those brutes, your enemies ? said I : Do you know where they are gone ? There they lie, Sir, said he, pointing to a thicket of trees ; my heart trembles for fear they have seen us, and heard you speak ; if they have, they will certainly murder us all.

Have they any fire arms ? said I : he answered, they had only two pieces, and one which they left in the boat. Well then, said I, leave the rest to me ; I see they are all asleep ; it is an easy thing to kill them all ; but shall we rather take them prisoners ? He told me there were two desperate villains among them, that it was scarce safe to shew any mercy to ; but if they were secured, he believed all the rest would return to their duty. I asked him, Which they were ? He told me, he could not at that distance describe them ; but he would obey my orders in any thing I would direct. Well, said I, let us retreat out of their view or hearing, lest they awake, and we will resolve further ; so they willingly went back with me, till the woods covered us from them.

Look you, Sir, said I, if I venture upon your deliverance, are you willing to make two conditions with me ? He anticipated my proposals, by telling me, that both he and the ship, if recovered, should be wholly directed and commanded by me in every thing ; and if the ship was not recovered, he would live and die with me in what part of the world soever I would send him ; and the two other men said the same.

Well, said I, my conditions are but two : 1. That while you

stay on this island with me, you will not pretend to any authority here; and if I put arms into your hands, you will upon all occasions give them up to me, and do no prejudice to me or mine, upon this island, and in the mean time to be governed by my orders.

2. That if the ship is, or may be recovered, you will carry me and my man to *England*, passage free.

He gave me all the assurance that the invention and faith of man could devise, that he would comply with these most reasonable demands; and besides, would owe his life to me, and acknowledge it upon all occasions as long as he lived.

Well then, *said I*, here are three muskets for you, with powder and ball; tell me next what you think is proper to be done: he shewed all the testimony of his gratitude that he was able; but offered to be wholly guided by me: I told him, I thought it was hard venturing any thing; but the best method I could think of, was to fire upon them at once, as they lay; and if any

them escape, and Providence seems to have wakened them on purpose to save themselves: Now, said I, if the rest escape you, *it is your fault*.

Animated with this, he took the musket I had given him in his hand, and pistol in his belt, and his two comrades with him, with each man a piece in his hand: the two men, who were with him, going first, made some noise, at which one of the seamen, who was awake, turned about, and seeing them coming, cried out to the rest; but it was too late then; for the moment he cried out, they fired, *I mean the two men*, the captain wisely reserving his own piece: they had so well aimed their shot at the men they knew, that one of them was killed on the spot, and the other very much wounded; but not being dead, he started up upon his feet, and called eagerly for help to the other: but the captain, stepping to him, told him it was too late to cry for help, he should call upon God to forgive his villainy; and with that word knocked him down with the stock of his musket, so that he never spoke more: there were three more in the company, and one of them was also slightly wounded; by this time I was come; and when they saw their danger, and that it was in vain to resist, they begged for mercy. The captain told them he would spare their lives, if they would give him any assurance of their abhorrence of the treachery they had been guilty of, and would swear to be faithful to him in recovering the ship, and afterwards in carrying her back to Jamaica, from whence they came. They gave him all the protestations of their sincerity that could be desired; and he was willing to believe them, and spare their lives, which I was not against; only I obliged him to keep them bound hand and foot while they were upon the island.

While this was doing, I sent Friday with the captain's mate to the boat, with orders to secure her, and bring away the oars and sail, which they did; and by and bye, three straggling men, that

were (happily for them) parted from the rest, came back upon hearing the guns fired ; and seeing their captain, who before was their prisoner, now their conqueror, they submitted to be bound also, and so our victory was complete.

It now remained, that the captain and I should inquire into one another's circumstances. I began first, and told him my whole history, which he heard with an attention even to amazement, and particularly at the wonderful manner of my being furnished with provisions and ammunition ; and indeed, as my story is a whole collection of wonders, it affected him deeply ; but when he reflected from thence upon himself, and how I seemed to have been preserved there on purpose to save his life, the tears ran down his face, and he could not speak a word more.

After this communication was at an end, I carried him and his two men into my apartment, leading them in just where I came out ~~out~~ at the top of the house : where I refreshed them

still six-and-twenty hands on board, who having entered into a cursed conspiracy, by which they had all forfeited their lives to the law, would be hardened in it now by desperation ; and would carry it on, knowing that if they were reduced, they should be brought to the gallows as soon as they came to *England*, or to any of the *English* colonies ; and that therefore there would be no attacking them with so small a number as we were.

I mused for some time upon what he had said, and found it was a very rational conclusion, and that therefore something was to be resolved on very speedily, as well to draw the men on board into some snare for their surprise, as to prevent their landing upon us, and destroying us : upon this it presently occurred to me, that in a little while, the ship's crew, wondering what was become of their comrades, and of the boat, would certainly come on shore in their other boat to see for them ; and that then perhaps they might come armed, and be too strong for us : this he allowed was rational.

Upon this I told him, the first thing we were to do, was to stave the boat, which lay upon the beach, so that they might not carry her off ; and taking every thing out of her, leave her so far useless as not to be fit to swim ; accordingly we went on board, took the arms which were left on board out of her, and whatever else we found there, which was a bottle of brandy, and another of rum, a few biscuit cakes, a horn of powder, and a great lump of sugar in a piece of canvass ; the sugar was five or six pounds ; all which was very welcome to me, especially the brandy and sugar, of which I had had none left for many years.

When we had carried all these things on shore (the oars, mast, sail, and rudder of the boat, were carried away before, as above), we knocked a great hole in her bottom, that if they had come strong enough to master us, yet they could not carry off the boat.

Indeed it was not much in my thoughts, that we could be able to recover the ship ; but my view was, that if they went away without the boat, I did not much question to make her fit again to carry us away to the *Leward Islands*, and call upon our friends the *Spaniards* in my way ; for I had them still in my thoughts.

While we were thus preparing our designs, and had first, by main strength, heaved the boat up upon the beach, so high that the tide would not float her off at high-water mark ; and, besides, had broken a hole in her bottom, too big to be quickly stopped, and were sat down musing what we should do, we heard the ship fire a gun, and saw her make a waft with her ancient, as a signal for the boat to come on board, but no boat stirred ; and they fired several times, making other signals for the boat.

At last, when all their signals and firings proved fruitless, and they found the boat did not stir, we saw them (by the help of my glasses) hoist another boat out, and tow towards the shore.

their new enterprize ; and terribly apprehensive he was, that they would be too powerful for us.

I smiled at him, and told him, that men in our circumstances were past the operation of fear : that seeing almost every condition that could be was better than that we were supposed to be in, we ought to expect that the consequence, whether death or life, would be sure to be a deliverance. I asked him, what he thought of the circumstances of my life, and whether a deliverance was not worth venturing for ? And where, Sir, said I, is your belief of my being preserved here on purpose to save your life, which elevated you a little while ago ? For my part, said I, there seems to be but one thing amiss in all the prospect of it. *What is that ?* says he. Why, said I, it is that, as you say, there are three or four honest fellows among them, which should be spared ; had they been all of the wicked part of the crew, I should have thought God's providence had singled them out to deliver them into your hands ; for, depend upon it, every man of them that comes ashore are our own, and shall die or live, as they behave to us.

As I spoke this with a raised voice and cheerful countenance, I found it greatly encouraged him ; so we set vigorously to our business : we had, upon the first appearance of the boat's coming from the ship, considered of separating our prisoners, and had indeed secured them effectually.

Two of them, of whom the captain was less assured than ordinary, I sent with *Friday*, and one of the three (delivered men) to my cave, where they were remote enough, and out of danger of being heard or discovered, or of finding their way out of the woods, if they could have delivered themselves : here they left them bound, but gave them provisions, and promised them, if they continued there quietly, to give them their liberty in a day or two ; but that if they attempted their escape, they should be put to death without mercy. They promised faith-

fully to bear their confinement with patience, and were very thankful that they had such good usage as to have provisions, and a light left them; for *Friday* gave them candles (such as we made ourselves) for their comfort; and they did not know but that he stood sentinel over them at the entrance.

The other prisoners had better usage; two of them were kept opinioned indeed, because the captain was not free to trust them; but the other two were taken into my service upon their captain's recommendation, and upon their solemnly engaging to live and die with us; so, with them and the three honest men, we were seven men well armed; and I made no doubt we should be able to deal well enough with the ten that were coming, considering that the captain had said, there were three or four honest men among them also.

As soon as they got to the place where their other boat lay, they ran their boat into the beach, and came all on shore, hauling the boat up after them, which I was glad to see; for I was afraid

told us afterwards, they resolved to go all on board again to their ship, and let them know there, that the men were all murdered, and the long-boat staved; accordingly, they immediately launched the boat again, and got all of them on board.

The captain was terribly amazed, and even confounded at this, believing they would go on board the ship again, and set sail, giving their comrades up for lost, and so he should still lose the ship, which he was in hopes we should have recovered; but he was quickly as much frightened the other way.

They had not been long put off with the boat, but we perceived them all coming on shore again; but with this new measure in their conduct, which, it seems, they consulted together upon, viz. to leave three men in the boat, and the rest to go on shore, and go up into the country to look for their fellows.

This was a great disappointment to us; for now we were at a loss what to do; for our seizing those seven men on shore would be no advantage to us if we let the boat escape; because they would then row away to the ship; and then the rest of them would be sure to weigh, and set sail, and so our recovering the ship would be lost.

However, we had no remedy but to wait and see what the issue of things might present: the seven men came on shore, and the three who remained in the boat put her off to a good distance from the shore, and came to an anchor to wait for them; so that it was impossible for us to come at them in the boat.

Those that came on shore kept close together, marching towards the top of the little hill, under which my habitation lay; and we could see them plainly, though they could not perceive us: we could have been very glad they would have come nearer to us, so that we might have fired at them; or that they would have gone farther off, that we might have come abroad.

But when they were come to the brow of the hill, where they

could see a great way in the valley and woods, which lay towards the *north-east* part, and where the island lay lowest, they shouted and hallooed till they were weary ; and not caring, it seems, to venture far from the shore, nor far from one another, they sat down together under a tree, to consider of it : had they thought fit to have gone to sleep there, as the other party of them had done, they had done the job for us ; but they were too full of apprehensions of danger to venture to go to sleep, though they could not tell what the danger was they had to fear neither.

The captain made a very just proposal to me upon this consultation of theirs ; *viz.* that perhaps they would all fire a volley again, to endeavour to make their fellows hear, and that we should all sally upon them, just at the juncture when their pieces were all discharged, and they would certainly yield, and we should have them without bloodshed. I liked the proposal, provided it was done while we were near enough to come up to them, before they could load their pieces again.

him my thoughts, was ready to sink at the apprehensions of it ; but I presently thought of a stratagem to fetch them back again, and which answered my end to a tittle.

I ordered *Friday*, and the captain's mate, to go over the little creek *westward*, towards the place where the *savages* came on shore when *Friday* was rescued ; and as soon as they came to a little rising ground, at about half a mile distance, I bade them halloo as loud as they could, and wait till they found the seamen heard them ; that as soon as ever they heard the seamen answer them, they should return it again, and then, keeping out of sight, take a round, always answering when the others hallooed, to draw them as far into the island, and among the woods, as possible, and then wheel about again to me, by such ways as I directed them.

They were just going into the boat, when *Friday*, and the mate hallooed, and they presently heard them, and answering run along the shore *westward* towards the voice they heard, when they were presently stopped by the creek, where, the water being up, they could not get over, and called for the boat to come up, and set them over, as indeed I expected.

When they had set themselves over, I observed that the boat being gone up a good way into the creek, and as it were in an harbour within the land, they took one of the three men out of her to go along with them, and left only two in the boat, having fastened her to the stump of a little tree on the shore.

This was what I wished for, and immediately leaving *Friday* and the captain's mate to their business, I took the rest with me, and crossing the creek out of their sight, we surprised the two men before they were aware, one of them lying on shore, and the other being in the boat, the fellow on shore was between sleeping and waking, and going to start up, the captain, who was foremost, ran in upon him, and knocked him down, and then called out to him in the boat to yield, or he was a dead man.

There needed very few arguments to persuade a single man to yield, when he saw five men upon him, and his comrade knocked down; besides this was, it seems, one of the three that were not so hearty in the mutiny as the rest of the crew, and therefore was easily persuaded not only to yield, but afterwards to join very sincere with us.

In the mean time, *Friday* and the captain's mate so well managed their business with the rest, that they drew them, by hallooing and answering, from one hill to another, and from one wood to another, till they not only heartily tired them, but left them where they were very sure they could not reach back to the boat before it was dark; and indeed they were heartily tired themselves also by the time they came back to us.

We had nothing now to do but to watch for them in the dark, and to fall upon them, so as to make sure work with them.

It was several hours after *Friday* came back to me before

their hands, like men in despair ; and that sometimes they would go and sit down in the boat to rest themselves, then come ashore again, and walk about, and so over the same thing again.

My men would fain have had me given them leave to fall upon them at once in the dark ; but I was willing to take them at some advantage, so to spare them, and kill as few of them as I could ; and especially I was unwilling to hazard the killing any of our own men, knowing the other were very well armed : I resolved to wait to see if they did not separate ; and therefore, to make sure of them, I drew my ambuscade nearer ; and ordered *Friday* and the captain to creep upon their hands and feet as close to the ground as they could, that they might not be discovered, and get as near them as they could possibly, before they offered to fire.

They had not been long in that posture but that the boatswain, who was the principal ringleader of the mutiny, and had now shewn himself the most dejected and dispirited of all the rest, came walking towards them with two more of the crew ; the captain was so eager, as having this principal rogue so much in his power, that he could hardly have patience to let him come so near as to be sure of him ; for they only heard his tongue before : but when they came nearer, the captain and *Friday*, starting upon their feet, let fly at them.

The boatswain was killed upon the spot ; the next man was shot into the body, and fell just by him, though he did not die till an hour or two after ; and the third ran for it.

At the noise of the fire, I immediately advanced with my whole army, which was now eight men ; *tiz. myself, generalissimo, Friday, my lieutenant-general, the captain and his two men, and the three prisoners of war, who we had trusted with arms.*

We came upon them indeed in the dark, so that they could not see our number ; and I made the man they had left in

the boat, who was now one of us, to call them by name, to try if I could bring them to a parley, and so might perhaps reduce them to terms; which fell out just as we desired; for indeed it was easy to think, as their condition then was, they would be very willing to capitulate; so he calls out, as loud as he could, to one of them, *Tom Smith, Tom Smith.* *Tom Smith* answered immediately, *Who's that! Robinson!* For it seems he knew his voice. The other answered, *Ay, ay; for God's sake, Tom Smith, throw down your arms, and yield, or you are all dead men this moment.*

*Who must we yield to? Where are they?* says *Smith* again. *Here they are,* says he: here is our captain and fifty men with him, have been hunting you this two hours; the boatswain is killed; *Will Frye* is wounded, and I am a prisoner; and if you do not yield, you are all lost.

Will they give us quarter then? says *Tom Smith*, and we will yield. *I'll go and ask, if you promise to yield,* says *Robinson.* So he asked the captain, and the captain himself then calls out; *You, Smith, you know my voice, if you lay down your arms immediately, and submit, you shall have your lives, all but Will Atkins.*

Upon this *Will Atkins* cried out, *For God's sake, captain, give me quarter: what have I done? they have been all as bad as I:* (which by the way was not true, neither; for it seems this *Will Atkins* was the first man that laid hold of the captain when they first mutinied, and used him barbarously, in tying his hands, and giving him injurious language:) however the captain told him he must lay down his arms at discretion, and trust to the governor's mercy, by which he meant me; for they all called me governor.

In a word, they all laid down their arms, and begged their lives; and I sent the man that had parlied with them, and two more, who bound them all; and then my great army of fifty

men, which, particularly with those three, were all but eight, came up and seized upon them all, and upon their boat, only that I kept myself and one more out of sight, for reasons of state.

Our next work was to repair the boat, and to think of seizing the ship; and as for the captain, now he had leisure to parley with them, he expostulated with them upon the villany of their practices with him, and at length, upon the farther wickedness of their design; and how certainly it must bring them to misery and distress in the end, and perhaps to the gallows.

They all appeared very penitent, and begged hard for their lives. As for that he told them they were none of his prisoners, but the commander of the island; that they thought they had set him on shore in a barren uninhabited island; but it had pleased God so to direct them, that the island was inhabited, and that the governor was an *Englishman*; that he might hang them all there, if he pleased; but as he had given them all quarter, he supposed he would send them to *England*, to be dealt with there as justice required, except *Atkins*, whom he was commanded by the governor to advise to prepare for death; for that he would be hanged in the morning.

Though this was all a fiction of his own, yet it had its desired effect: *Atkins* fell upon his knees to beg the captain to intercede with the governor for his life; and all the rest begged of him for God's sake, that they might not be sent to *England*.

It now occurred to me, that the time of our deliverance was come, and that it would be a most easy thing to bring these fellows in to be hearty in getting possession of the ship; so I retired in the dark from them, that they might not see what kind of a governor they had, and called the captain to me; when I called, as at a good distance, one of the men was ordered to speak again, and say to the captain, *Captain the commander calls for you*: and presently the captain replied, *Tell his excellency I am just a coming*.

This more perfectly amused them ; and they all believed, that the commander was just by with his fifty men.

Upon the captain's coming to me, I told him my project for seizing the ship, which he liked of wonderfully well, and resolved to put it in execution the next morning.

But, in order to execute it with more art, and secure of success, I told him we must divide the prisoners, and that he should go and take Atkins, and two more of the worst of them, and send them pinioned to the cave where the others lay : this was committed to *Friday*, and the two men who came on shore with the captain.

They conveyed them to the cave, as to a prison ; and it was indeed a dismal place, especially to men in their condition.

The other I ordered to my bower, as I called it, of which I have given a full description ; and as it was fenced in, and they pinioned, the place was secure enough, considering they were upon their behaviour.

Well, says the captain, I must go and tell the governor what you say, and see what I can do to bring him to consent to it: so he brought me an account of the temper he found them in, and that he verily believed they would be faithful.

However, that we might be very secure, I told him he should go back again, and choose out those five, and tell them, they might see that he did not want men; that he would take out those five to be his assistants, and that the governor would keep the other two, and the three that were sent prisoners to the castle, (*my care*) as hostages, for the fidelity of those five; and that if they proved unfaithful in the execution, the five hostages should be hanged in chains alive upon the shore.

Thus looked severe, and convinced them that the governor was in earnest; however, they had no way left them but to accept it; and it was now the business of the prisoners, as much as of the captain, to persuade the other five to do their duty.

Our strength was now thus ordered for the expedition. 1. The captain, his mate, and passenger. 2. Then the two prisoners of the first gang, to whom, having their characters from the captain, I had given their liberty, and trusted them with arms. 3. The other two who I had kept till now in my bower pinioned; but, upon the captain's motion, had now released. 4. These five released at last; so that they were twelve in all, besides five we kept prisoners in the cave for hostages.

I asked the captain if he was willing to venture with these hands on board the ship: for as for me and my man *Friday*, I did not think it was proper for us to stir, having seven men left behind; and it was employment enough for us to keep them asunder, and supply them with victuals.

As to the five in the cave, I resolved to keep them fast; but *Friday* went twice a day to them, to supply them with necessities; and I made the other two carry provisions to a certain distance, where *Friday* was to take it.

When I shewed myself to the two hostages, it was with the captain, who told them, I was the person the governor had ordered to look after them, and that it was the governor's pleasure that they should not stir any where but by my direction; that if they did, they should be fetched into the castle, and be laid in irons; so that as we never suffered them to see me as governor, so I now appeared as another person, and spoke of the governor, the garrison, the castle, and the like, upon all occasions.

The captain now had no difficulty before him, but to furnish his two boats, stop the breach of one, and man them; he made his passenger captain of one, with four other men; and himself, and his mate, and five more, went in the other; and they contrived their business very well; for they came up to the ship about midnight. As soon as they came within call of the ship, he made *Robinson* hail them, and tell them they had brought off the men and the boat, but that it was a long time before they

door, the new captain and his men fired boldly among them, and wounded the mate with a musquet ball, which broke his arm, and wounded two more of the men, but killed nobody.

The mate, calling for help, rushed, however, into the round-house, wounded as he was, and with his pistol shot the new captain through the head, the bullet entering at his mouth, and came out again behind one of his ears; so that he never spoke a word; upon which the rest yielded, and the ship was taken effectually, without any more lives lost.

As soon as the ship was thus secured, the captain ordered seven guns to be fired, which was the signal agreed upon with me, to give me notice of his success; which you may be sure I was very glad to hear, having sat watching upon the shore for it till near two of the clock in the morning.

Having thus heard the signal plainly, I laid me down; and it having been a day of great fatigue to me, I slept very sound, till I was something surprised with the noise of a gun; and presently starting up, I heard a man call me by the name of Governor, governor: and presently I knew the captain's voice, when climbing up to the top of the hill, there he stood, and pointing to the ship, he embraced me in his arms. *My dear friend and deliverer,* says he, *there is your ship, for she is all your's, and so are we, and all that belongs to her.* I cast my eyes to the ship, and there she rode within a little more than half a mile of the shore; for they had weighed her anchor as soon as they were masters of her; and the weather being fair, had brought her to an anchor just against the mouth of the little creek; and the tide being up, the captain had brought the pinnace in near the place where I first landed my raft, and so landed just at my door.

I was, at first, ready to sink down with the surprise: for I saw my deliverance indeed visibly put into my hands, all things easy, and a large ship just ready to carry me whither I pleased to go. At first, for some time, I was not able to answer him one word;

but as he had taken me in his arms, I held fast by him, or I should have fallen to the ground.

He perceived the surprise, and immediately pulls a bottle out of his pocket, and gave me a dram of cordial, which he brought on purpose for me. After I drank it, I sat down upon the ground, and though it brought me to myself, yet it was a good while before I could speak a word to him.

All this while the poor man was in as great an ecstasy as I, only not under any surprise, as I was ; and he said a thousand kind tender things to me, to compose me and bring me to myself ; but such was the flood of joy in my breast, that it put all my spirits into confusion ; at last it broke out into tears, and in a little while after I recovered my speech.

Then I took my turn and embraced him as my deliverer, and we rejoiced together. I told him, I looked upon him as a man sent from Heaven to deliver me, and that the whole transaction seemed to be a chain of wonders ; that such things as these were

First, he had brought me a case of bottles full of excellent cordial waters, six large bottles of *Madeira* wine; the bottles held two quarts a piece; two pound of excellent good tobacco, twelve good pieces of the ship's beef, and six pieces of pork, with a bag of peas, and about a hundred weight of biscuit.

He brought me also a box of sugar, a box of flour, a bag full of lemons, and two bottles of lime-juice, and abundance of other things: but besides these, and what was a thousand times more useful to me, he brought me six clean new shirts, six very good neckcloths, two pair of gloves, one pair of shoes, a hat, and one pair of stockings, and a very good suit of clothes of his own, which had been worn but very little: in a word, he clothed me from head to foot.

It was a very kind and agreeable present, as any one may imagine to one in my circumstances; but never was any thing in the world of that kind so unpleasant, awkward, and uneasy, as it was to me to wear such clothes at their first putting on.

After these ceremonies passed, and after all his good things were brought into my little apartment, we began to consult what was to be done with the prisoners we had; for it was worth considering whether we might venture to take them away with us or no, especially two of them, whom we knew to be incorrigible and refractory to the last degree; and the captain said he knew they were such rogues, that there was no obligeing them; and if he did carry them away it must be in irons, as malefactors, to be delivered over to justice at the first *English* colony he could come at; and I found that the captain himself was very anxious about it.

Upon this, I told him, that if he desired it, I durst undertake to bring the two men he spoke of, to make it their own request that he should leave them upon the island. *I should be very glad of that, says the captain, with all my heart.*

Well, said I, I will send for them up, and talk with them for you: so I caused *Friday* and the two hostages, for they were

could see a great way in the valley and woods, which lay towards the *north-east* part, and where the island lay lowest, they shouted and hallooed till they were weary ; and not caring, it seems, to venture far from the shore, nor far from one another, they sat down together under a tree, to consider of it : had they thought fit to have gone to sleep there, as the other party of them had done, they had done the job for us ; but they were too full of apprehensions of danger to venture to go to sleep, though they could not tell what the danger was they had to fear neither.

The captain made a very just proposal to me upon this consultation of theirs ; *viz.* that perhaps they would all fire a volley again, to endeavour to make their fellows hear, and that we should all sally upon them, just at the juncture when their pieces were all discharged, and they would certainly yield, and we should have them without bloodshed. I liked the proposal, provided it was done while we were near enough to come up to them, before they could load their pieces again.

But this event did not happen, and we lay still a long time, very irresolute what course to take ; at length I told them, there would be nothing to be done in my opinion till night ; and then, if they did not return to the boat, perhaps we might find a way to get between them and the shore, and so might use some stratagem with them in the boat, to get them on shore.

We waited a great while, though very impatient for their removing, and were very uneasy : when, after long consultations, we saw them start all up, and march down toward the sea : it seems, they had such dreadful apprehensions upon them of the danger of the place, that they resolved to go on board the ship again, give their companions over for lost, and so go on with their intended voyage with the ship.

As soon as I perceived them go towards the shore, I imagined it to be as it really was ; that they had given over their search, and were for going back again ; and the captain, as soon as I told

him my thoughts, was ready to sink at the apprehensions of it ; but I presently thought of a stratagem to fetch them back again, and which answered my end to a tittle.

I ordered *Friday*, and the captain's mate, to go over the little creek *westward*, towards the place where the *savages* came on shore when *Friday* was rescued ; and as soon as they came to a little rising ground, at about half a mile distance, I bade them halloo as loud as they could, and wait till they found the seamen heard them ; that as soon as ever they heard the seamen answer them, they should return it again, and then, keeping out of sight, take a round, always answering when the others hallooed, to draw them as far into the island, and among the woods, as possible, and then wheel about again to me, by such ways as I directed them.

They were just going into the boat, when *Friday*, and the mate hallooed, and they presently heard them, and answering run along the shore *westward* towards the voice they heard, when they were presently stopped by the creek, where, the water being up, they could not get over, and called for the boat to come up, and set them over, as indeed I expected.

When they had set themselves over, I observed that the boat being gone up a good way into the creek, and as it were in an harbour within the land, they took one of the three men out of her to go along with them, and left only two in the boat, having fastened her to the stump of a little tree on the shore.

This was what I wished for, and immediately leaving *Friday* and the captain's mate to their business, I took the rest with me, and crossing the creek out of their sight, we surprised the two men before they were aware, one of them lying on shore, and the other being in the boat ; the fellow on shore was between sleeping and waking, and going to start up, the captain, who was foremost, ran in upon him, and knocked him down, and then called out to him in the boat to yield, or he was a dead man.

There needed very few arguments to persuade a single man to yield, when he saw five men upon him, and his comrade knocked down; besides this was, it seems, one of the three that were not so hearty in the mutiny as the rest of the crew, and therefore was easily persuaded not only to yield, but afterwards to join very sincere with us.

In the mean time, *Friday* and the captain's mate so well managed their business with the rest, that they drew them, by hallooing and answering, from one hill to another, and from one wood to another, till they not only heartily tired them, but left them where they were very sure they could not reach back to the boat before it was dark; and indeed they were heartily tired themselves also by the time they came back to us.

We had nothing now to do but to watch for them in the dark, and to fall upon them, so as to make sure work with them.

It was several hours after *Friday* came back to me before they came back to their boat; and we could hear the foremost of them, long before they came quite up, calling to those behind to come along; and could also hear them answer, and complain how lame and tired they were, and not being able to come any faster, which was very welcome news to us.

At length they came up to the boat; but it is impossible to express their confusion, when they found the boat fast a-ground in the creek. The tide ebbed out, and their two men gone; we could hear them call to one another in a most lamentable manner, telling one another they were gotten into an enchanted island; that either there were inhabitants in it, and they should all be murdered; or else there were devils or spirits in it, and they should be all carried away and devoured.

They hallooed again, and called their two comrades by their names a great many times, but no answer: after some time, we could see them, by the little light there was, run about wringing

their hands, like men in despair ; and that sometimes they would go and sit down in the boat to rest themselves, then come ashore again, and walk about, and so over the same thing again.

My men would fain have had me given them leave to fall upon them at once in the dark ; but I was willing to take them at some advantage, so to spare them, and kill as few of them as I could ; and especially I was unwilling to hazard the killing any of our own men, knowing the other were very well armed : I resolved to wait to see if they did not separate ; and therefore, to make sure of them, I drew my ambuscade nearer ; and ordered *Friday* and the captain to creep upon their hands and feet as close to the ground as they could, that they might not be discovered, and get as near them as they could possibly, before they offered to fire.

They had not been long in that posture but that the boatswain, who was the principal ringleader of the mutiny, and had now shewn himself the most dejected and dispirited of all the rest, came walking towards them with two more of the crew ; the captain was so eager, as having this principal rogue so much in his power, that he could hardly have patience to let him come so near as to be sure of him ; for they only heard his tongue before : but when they came nearer, the captain and *Friday*, starting upon their feet, let fly at them.

The boatswain was killed upon the spot ; the next man was shot into the body, and fell just by him, though he did not die till an hour or two after ; and the third run for it.

At the noise of the fire, I immediately advanced with my whole army, which was now eight men ; *viz.* myself, *generalissimo* ; *Friday*, my lieutenant-general ; the captain and his two men, and the three prisoners of war, who we had trusted with arms.

We came upon them indeed in the dark, so that they could not see our number ; and I made the man they had left in

the boat, who was now one of us, to call them by name, to try if I could bring them to a parley, and so might perhaps reduce them to terms; which fell out just as we desired; for indeed it was easy to think, as their condition then was, they would be very willing to capitulate; so he calls out, as loud as he could, to one of them, *Tom Smith, Tom Smith.* *Tom Smith* answered immediately, *Who's that! Robinson!* For it seems he knew his voice. The other answered, *Ay, ay; for God's sake, Tom Smith, throw down your arms, and yield, or you are all dead men this moment.*

*Who must we yield to? Where are they?* says *Smith* again. *Here they are,* says he: here is our captain and fifty men with him, have been hunting you this two hours; the boatswain is killed; *Will Frye* is wounded, and I am a prisoner; and if you do not yield, you are all lost.

Will they give us quarter then? says *Tom Smith*, and we will yield. *I'll go and ask, if you promise to yield,* says *Robinson.* So he asked the captain, and the captain himself then calls out; *You, Smith, you know my voice, if you lay down your arms immediately, and submit, you shall have your lives, all but Will Atkins.*

Upon this *Will Atkins* cried out, *For God's sake, captain, give me quarter: what have I done? they have been all as bad as I:* (which by the way was not true, neither; for it seems this *Will Atkins* was the first man that laid hold of the captain when they first mutinied, and used him barbarously, in tying his hands, and giving him injurious language;) however the captain told him he must lay down his arms at discretion, and trust to the governor's mercy, by which he meant me; for they all called me governor.

In a word, they all laid down their arms, and begged their lives; and I sent the man that had parlied with them, and two more, who bound them all; and then my great army of fifty

men, which, particularly with those three, were all but eight, came up and seized upon them all, and upon their boat, only that I kept myself and one more out of sight, for reasons of state.

Our next work was to repair the boat, and to think of seizing the ship; and as for the captain, now he had leisure to parley with them, he expostulated with them upon the villany of their practices with him, and at length, upon the farther wickedness of their design; and how certainly it must bring them to misery and distress in the end, and perhaps to the gallows.

They all appeared very penitent, and begged hard for their lives. As for that he told them they were none of his prisoners, but the commander of the island; that they thought they had set him on shore in a barren uninhabited island; but it had pleased God so to direct them, that the island was inhabited, and that the governor was an *Englishman*; that he might hang them all there, if he pleased; but as he had given them all quarter, he supposed he would send them to *England*, to be dealt with there as justice required, except *Atkins*, whom he was commanded by the governor to advise to prepare for death; for that he would be hanged in the morning.

Though this was all a fiction of his own, yet it had its desired effect: *Atkins* fell upon his knees to beg the captain to intercede with the governor for his life; and all the rest begged of him for God's sake, that they might not be sent to *England*.

It now occurred to me, that the time of our deliverance was come, and that it would be a most easy thing to bring these fellows in to be hearty in getting possession of the ship; so I retired in the dark from them, that they might not see what kind of a governor they had, and called the captain to me; when I called, as at a good distance, one of the men was ordered to speak again, and say to the captain, *Captain the commander calls for you*: and presently the captain replied, *Tell his excellency I am just a coming*.

This more perfectly amused them ; and they all believed, that the commander was just by with his fifty men.

Upon the captain's coming to me, I told him my project for seizing the ship, which he liked of wonderfully well, and resolved to put it in execution the next morning.

But, in order to execute it with more art, and secure of success, I told him we must divide the prisoners, and that he should go and take Atkins, and two more of the worst of them, and send them pinioned to the cave where the others lay : this was committed to *Friday*, and the two men who came on shore with the captain.

They conveyed them to the cave, as to a prison ; and it was indeed a dismal place, especially to men in their condition.

The other I ordered to my *bower*, as I called it, of which I have given a full description ; and as it was fenced in, and they pinioned, the place was secure enough, considering they were upon their behaviour.

To these in the morning I sent the captain, who was to enter into a parley with them : in a word, to try them, and tell me, whether he thought they might be trusted or no, to go on board, and surprise the ship : he talked to them of the injury done him, of the condition they were brought to : and that though the governor had given them quarter for their lives as to the present action, yet that if they were sent to *England*, they would all be hanged in chains, to be sure ; but that if they would join in so just an attempt, as to recover the ship, he would have the governor's engagement for their pardon.

Any one may guess how readily such a proposal would be accepted by men in their condition ; they fell down on their knees to the captain, and promised with the deepest imprecations, that they would be faithful to him to the last drop, and that they should owe their lives to him, and would go with him all over the world ; that they would own him for a father to them as long as they lived.

Well, says the captain, I must go and tell the governor what you say, and see what I can do to bring him to consent to it: so he brought me an account of the temper he found them in, and that he verily believed they would be faithful.

However, that we might be very secure, I told him he should go back again, and choose out those five, and tell them, they might see that he did not want men; that he would take out those five to be his assistants, and that the governor would keep the other two, and the three that were sent prisoners to the castle, (*my cave*) as hostages, for the fidelity of those five; and that if they proved unfaithful in the execution, the five hostages should be hanged in chains alive upon the shore.

This looked severe, and convinced them that the governor was in earnest; however, they had no way left them but to accept it; and it was now the business of the prisoners, as much as of the captain, to persuade the other five to do their duty.

Our strength was now thus ordered for the expedition. 1. The captain, his mate, and passenger. 2. Then the two prisoners of the first gang, to whom, having their characters from the captain, I had given their liberty, and trusted them with arms. 3. The other two who I had kept till now in my bower pinioned; but, upon the captain's motion, had now released. 4. These five released at last; so that they were twelve in all, besides five we kept prisoners in the cave for hostages.

I asked the captain if he was willing to venture with these hands on board the ship: for as for me and my man *Friday*, I did not think it was proper for us to stir, having seven men left behind; and it was employment enough for us to keep them asunder, and supply them with victuals.

As to the five in the cave, I resolved to keep them fast; but *Friday* went twice a day to them, to supply them with necessaries; and I made the other two carry provisions to a certain distance, where *Friday* was to take it.

When I shewed myself to the two hostages, it was with the captain, who told them, I was the person the governor had ordered to look after them, and that it was the governor's pleasure that they should not stir any where but by my direction; that if they did, they should be fetched into the castle, and be laid in irons; so that as we never suffered them to see me as governor, so I now appeared as another person, and spoke of the governor, the garrison, the castle, and the like, upon all occasions.

The captain now had no difficulty before him, but to furnish his two boats, stop the breach of one, and man them; he made his passenger captain of one, with four other men; and himself, and his mate, and five more, went in the other; and they contrived their business very well; for they came up to the ship about midnight. As soon as they came within call of the ship, he made *Robinson* hail them, and tell them they had brought off the men and the boat, but that it was a long time before they had found them, and the like; holding them in a chat, till they came to the ship's side; when the captain and the mate, entering first with their arms, immediately knocked down the second mate and carpenter with the butt end of their musquets, being very faithfully seconded by their men; they secured all the rest that were upon the main and quarter-decks, and began to fasten the hatches to keep them down who were below, when the other boat, and their men, entering at the fore-chains, secured the forecastle of the ship, and the skuttle which went down into the cook-room, making the three men they found there pri-

soners.

When this was done, and all safe upon deck, the captain ordered the mate with three men to break into the round house, where the new rebel captain lay, and, having taken the alarm, was gotten up, and with two men and a boy had gotten fire-arms in their hands; and when the mate with a crow split open the

door, the new captain and his men fired boldly among them, and wounded the mate with a musquet ball, which broke his arm, and wounded two more of the men, but killed nobody.

The mate, calling for help, rushed, however, into the round-house, wounded as he was, and with his pistol shot the new captain through the head, the bullet entering at his mouth, and came out again behind one of his ears; so that he never spoke a word; upon which the rest yielded, and the ship was taken effectually, without any more lives lost.

As soon as the ship was thus secured, the captain ordered seven guns to be fired, which was the signal agreed upon with me, to give me notice of his success; which you may be sure I was very glad to hear, having sat watching upon the shore for it till near two of the clock in the morning.

Having thus heard the signal plainly, I laid me down; and it having been a day of great fatigue to me, I slept very sound, till I was something surprised with the noise of a gun; and presently starting up, I heard a man call me by the name of Governor, governor: and presently I knew the captain's voice, when climbing up to the top of the hill, there he stood, and pointing to the ship, he embraced me in his arms. *My dear friend and deliverer,* says he, *there is your ship, for she is all your's, and so are we, and all that belong to her.* I cast my eyes to the ship, and there she rode within a little more than half a mile of the shore; for they had weighed her anchor as soon as they were masters of her; and the weather being fair, had brought her to an anchor just against the mouth of the little creek; and the tide being up, the captain had brought the pinnace in near the place where I first landed my rafts, and so landed just at my door.

I was, at first, ready to sink down with the surprise: for I saw my deliverance indeed visibly put into my hands, all things easy, and a large ship just ready to carry me whither I pleased to go. At first, for some time, I was not able to answer him one word;

but as he had taken me in his arms, I held fast by him, or I should have fallen to the ground.

He perceived the surprise, and immediately pulls a bottle out of his pocket, and gave me a dram of cordial, which he brought on purpose for me. After I drank it, I sat down upon the ground, and though it brought me to myself, yet it was a good while before I could speak a word to him.

All this while the poor man was in as great an ecstasy as I, only not under any surprise, as I was ; and he said a thousand kind tender things to me, to compose me and bring me to myself ; but such was the flood of joy in my breast, that it put all my spirits into confusion ; at last it broke out into tears, and in a little while after I recovered my speech.

Then I took my turn and embraced him as my deliverer, and we rejoiced together. I told him, I looked upon him as a man sent from Heaven to deliver me, and that the whole transaction seemed to be a chain of wonders ; that such things as these were the testimonies we had of a secret hand of Providence governing the world, and an evidence, that the eyes of an infinite power could search into the remotest corner of the world, and send help to the miserable whenever he pleased.

I forgot not to lift up my heart in thankfulness to Heaven ; and what heart could forbear to bless Him, who had not only in a miraculous manner provided for one in such a wilderness, and in such a desolate condition, but from whom every deliverance must always be acknowledged to proceed !

When we had talked awhile, the captain told me, he had brought me some little refreshments, such as the ship afforded, and such as the wretches, that had been so long his masters, had not plundered him of : upon this he called aloud to the boat, and bid his men bring the things ashore that were for the governor ; and indeed it was a present as if I had been one, not that was to be carried along with them, but as if I had been to dwell upon the island still, and they were all to go without me.

First, he had brought me a case of bottles full of excellent cordial waters, six large bottles of *Madeira* wine ; the bottles held two quarts a piece ; two pound of excellent good tobacco, twelve good pieces of the ship's beef, and six pieces of pork, with a bag of peas, and about a hundred weight of biscuit.

He brought me also a box of sugar, a box of flour, a bag full of lemons, and two bottles of lime-juice, and abundance of other things : but besides these, and what was a thousand times more useful to me, he brought me six clean new shirts, six very good neckcloths, two pair of gloves, one pair of shoes, a hat, and one pair of stockings, and a very good suit of clothes of his own, which had been worn but very little : in a word, he clothed me from head to foot.

It was a very kind and agreeable present, as any one may imagine to one in my circumstances ; but never was any thing in the world of that kind so unpleasant, awkward, and uneasy, as it was to me to wear such clothes at their first putting on.

After these ceremonies passed, and after all his good things were brought into my little apartment, we began to consult what was to be done with the prisoners we had ; for it was worth considering whether we might venture to take them away with us or no, especially two of them, whom we knew to be incorrigible and refractory to the last degree ; and the captain said he knew they were such rogues, that there was no obliging them ; and if he did carry them away it must be in irons, as malefactors, to be delivered over to justice at the first *English* colony he could come at ; and I found that the captain himself was very anxious about it.

Upon this, I told him, that if he desired it, I durst undertake to bring the two men he spoke of, to make it their own request that he should leave them upon the island. *I should be very glad of that*, says the captain, *with all my heart*.

Well, said I, I will send for them up, and talk with them for you : so I caused *Friday* and the two hostages, for they were

now discharged, their comrades having performed their promise; I say, I caused them to go to the cave, and bring up the five men, pinioned as they were, to the bower, and keep them there till I came.

After some time, I came thither dressed in my new habit, and now I was called governor again. Being all met, and the captain with me, I caused the men to be brought before me, and I told them, I had had a full account of their villainous behaviour to the captain, and how they had run away with the ship, and were preparing to commit farther robberies; but that Providence had ensnared them in their own ways, and that they were fallen into the pit which they had digged for others.

I let them know, that by my direction the ship had been seized, that she lay now in the road, and they might see by and by, that their new captain had received the reward of his villainy; for that they might see him hanging at the yard arm.

That as to them, I wanted to know what they had to say,

for it ; said they would much rather venture to stay there, than to be carried to *England* to be hanged : so I left it on that issue.

However, the captain seemed to make some difficulty of it, as if he durst not leave them there : upon this I seemed to be a little angry with the captain, and told him, that they were my prisoners, not his ; and that seeing I had offered them so much favour, I would be as good as my word ; and that if he did not think fit to consent to it, I would set them at liberty as I found them ; and if he did not like that, he might take them again, if he could catch them.

Upon this they appeared very thankful, and I accordingly set them at liberty, and bade them retire into the woods, to the place whence they came, and I would leave them some fire-arms, some ammunition, and some directions how they should live very well, if they thought fit.

Upon this, I prepared to go on board the ship ; but told the captain, that I would stay that night to prepare my things ; and desired him to go on board in the meantime, and keep all right in the ship, and send the boat on shore the next day for me ; ordering him, in the meantime, to cause the new captain, who was killed, to be hanged at the yard arm, that these men might see him.

When the captain was gone, I sent for the men up to me to my apartment, and entered seriously into discourse with them of their circumstances. I told them, I thought they had made a right choice ; that if the captain carried them away, they would certainly be hanged. I showed them the new captain hanging at the yard-arm of the ship, and told them they had nothing less to expect.

When they had all declared their willingness to stay, I then told them I would let them into the story of my living there, and put them into the way of making it easy to them : accordingly I gave them the whole history of the place, and of my

coming to it; shewed them my fortifications, the way I made my bread, planted my corn, cured my grapes; and, in a word, all that was necessary to make them easy. I told them the story also of the sixteen *Spaniards* that were to be expected; for whom I left a letter, and made them promise to treat them in common with themselves.

I left them my fire-arms; viz. five musquets, three fowling-pieces, and three swords. I had above a barrel and a half of powder left; for after the first year or two I used but little, and wasted none. I gave them a description of the way I managed the goats, and directions to milk and fatten them, to make both butter and cheese.

In a word, I gave them every part of my own story; and I told them, I would prevail with the captain to leave them two barrels of gunpowder more, and some garden-seeds, which I told them I would have been very glad of; also I gave them the bag of peas which the captain had brought me to eat, and bade them

captain, at my intercession, caused their chests and clothes to be added, which they took, and were very thankful for. I also encouraged them, by telling them, that if it lay in my way to send a vessel to take them in, I would not forget them.

When I took leave of this island, I carried on board for reliques the great goat's-skin cap I had made, my umbrella, and my parrot ; also I forgot not to take the money I formerly mentioned, which had lain by me so long useless that it was grown rusty, or tarnished, and could hardly pass for silver, till it had been a little rubbed and handled ; as also the money I found in the wreck of the Spanish ship.

And thus I left the island the nineteenth of December, as I found by the ship's account, in the year 1686, after I had been upon it eight and twenty years, two months, and nineteen days ; being delivered from this second captivity the same day of the month that I first made my escape in the *Barco-longo*, from among the *Moors of Sallee*.

In this vessel, after a long voynge, I arrived in *England*, the eleventh of *June*, in the year 1687, having been thirty and five years absent.

When I came to *England*, I was as perfect a stranger to all the world, as if I had never been known there : my benefactor, and faithful steward, who I had left in trust with my money, was alive, but had had great misfortunes in the world, was become a widow the second time, and very low in the world. I made her easy as to what she owed me, assuring her, I would give her no trouble ; but on the contrary, in gratitude to her former care and faithfulness to me, I relieved her as my little stock would afford, which at that time would indeed allow me to do but little for her : but I assured her, I would never forget her former kindness to me ; nor did I forget her, when I had sufficient to help her ; as shall be observed in its place.

I went down afterwards into *Yorkshire* ; but my father was

dead, and my mother, and all the family extinct; except that I found two sisters, and two of the children of one of my brothers: and as I had been long ago given over for dead, there had been no provision made for me, so that, in a word, I found nothing to relieve or assist me; and that little money I had, would not do much for me as to settling in the world.

I met with one piece of gratitude, indeed, which I did not expect; and this was, that the master of the ship, who I had so happily delivered, and by the same means saved the ship and cargo, having given a very handsome account to the owners of the manner how I had saved the lives of the men, and the ship, they invited me to meet them, and some other merchants concerned, and all together made me a very handsome compliment upon the subject, and a present of almost two hundred pounds sterling.

But after making several reflections upon the circumstances of my life, and how little way this would go towards settling me in

After some passionate expressions of the old acquaintance, I inquired, you may be sure, after my plantation, and my partner. The old man told me, he had not been in the *Brasília* for about nine years; but that he could assure me, that when he came away my partner was living; but the trustees, whom I had joined with him, to take cognizance of my part, were both dead; that, however, he believed that I would have a very good account of the improvement of the plantation; for that, upon the general belief of my being cast away and drowned, my trustees had given in the account of the produce of my part of the plantation to the procurator fiscal; who had appropriated it, in case I never came to claim it, one third to the King, and two-thirds to the monastery of St. *Augustine*, to be expended for the benefit of the poor, and for the conversion of the *Indians* to the Catholic faith; but that if I appeared, or any one for me, to claim the inheritance, it should be restored; only that the improvement, or annual production, being distributed to charitable uses, could not be restored; but he assured me that the steward of the King's revenue (from lands) and the provost, or steward of the monastery, had taken great care, all along, that the incumbent, that is to say, my partner, gave every year a faithful account of the produce, of which they received duly my moiety.

I asked him, if he knew to what height of improvement he had brought the plantation: and whether he thought it might be worth looking after; or whether, on my going thither, I should meet with no obstruction to my possessing my just right in the moiety.

He told me, he could not tell exactly to what degree the plantation was improved: but this he knew, that my partner was grown exceeding rich upon the enjoying but one half of it; and that, to the best of his remembrance, he had heard that the King's part of my part, which was, it seems, granted away to some other monastery, or religious house, amounted to above two

hundred moidores a year; that, as to my being restored to a quiet possession of it, there was no question to be made of that, my partner being alive to witness my title, and my name being also inrolled in the register of the country. Also he told me, that the survivors of my two trustees were very fair, honest people, and very wealthy, and he believed I would not only have their assistance for putting me in possession, but would find a very considerable sum of money in their hands for my account, being the produce of the farm, while their fathers held the trust, and before it was given up as above, which, as he remembered, was for about twelve years.

I shewed myself a little concerned and uneasy at this account, and inquired of the old captain, how it came to pass, that the trustees should thus dispose my effects, when he knew that I had made my will, and had made him, the *Portuguese* captain, my universal heir, &c.

He told me, that was true; but that, as there was no proof

duced: however, says the old man, I shall give you a true account of what I have received in all, and how I have disposed of it.

After a few days further conference with this ancient friend, he brought me an account of the six first years' income of my plantation, signed by my partner, and the merchant's trustees, being always delivered in goods; viz. tobacco in rolls, and sugar in chests, besides rum, molasses, &c. which is the consequence of a sugar-work; and I found by this account, that every year the income considerably increased: but, as above, the disbursement being large, the sum at first was small: however, the old man let me see, that he was debtor to me 470 moidores of gold, besides 50 chests of sugar, and 15 double rolls of tobacco, which were lost in his ship, he having been shipwrecked coming home to *Lisbon*, about eleven years after my leaving the place.

The good man then began to complain of his misfortunes, and how he had been obliged to make use of my money to recover his losses, and buy him a share in a new ship; However, my old friend, says he, you shall not want a supply in your necessity; and as soon as my son returns, you shall be fully satisfied.

Upon this he pulls out an old pouch, and gives me 160 *Portuguese* moidores in gold; and giving me the writing of his title to the ship which his son was gone to the *Brasil* in, of which he was a quarter part owner, and his son another, he put them both in my hands for security of the rest.

I was too much moved with the honesty and kindness of the poor man to be able to bear this; and remembering what he had done for me, how he had taken me up at sea, and how generously he had used me on all occasions, and particularly how sincere a friend he was now to me, I could hardly refrain weeping at what he said to me. Therefore, first I asked him if his circumstances admitted him to spare so much money at that

time, and if it would not straiten him? He told me he could not say but it might straiten him a little: but, however, it was my money, and I might want it more than he.

Every thing the good man said was full of affection, and I could hardly refrain from tears while he spoke. In short, I took one hundred of the moidores, and called for a pen and ink to give him a receipt for them; then I returned him the rest, and told him, if ever I had possession of the plantation, I would return the other to him also, as indeed I afterwards did: and that, as to the bill of sale of his part in his son's ship, I would not take it by any means; but that if I wanted the money, I found he was honest enough to pay me; and if I did not, but came to receive what he gave me reason to expect, I would never have a penny more from him.

When this was passed, the old man began to ask me if he should put me in a method to make my claim to my plantation. I told him, I thought to go over to it myself. He said, I might do so if I pleased; but that if I did not, there were ways enough to secure my right, and immediately to appropriate the profits to my use; and as there were ships in the river of *Lisbon*, just ready to go away to *Brasil*, he made me enter my name in a public register, with his affidavit, affirming upon oath that I was alive, and that I was the same person who took up the land for the planting the said plantation at first.

This being regularly attested by a notary, and a procuration affixed, he directed me to send it with a letter of his writing, to a merchant of his acquaintance at the place; and then proposed my staying with him till an account came of the return.

Never any thing was more honourable than the proceedings upon this procuration; for in less than seven months I received a large packet from the survivors of my trustees, the merchants for whose account I went to sea, in which were the following particular letters and papers enclosed.

First, There was the account current of the produce of my farm, or plantation, from the year when their fathers had balanced with my old *Portugal* captain, being for six years; the balance appeared to be 1174 moidores in my favour.

Secondly, There was the account of four years more while they kept the effects in their hands, before the government claimed the administration, as being the effects of a person not to be found, which they call *Civil Death*; and the balance of this, the value of the plantation increasing, amounted to — crusadoes, which made 3241 moidores.

Thirdly, There was the prior of the *Augustines* account, who had received the profits for above fourteen years; but not being to account for what was disposed to the hospital, very honestly declared he had 872 moidores not distributed, which he acknowledged to my account. As to the king's part, that refunded nothing.

There was a letter of my partner's, congratulating me very affectionately upon my being alive; giving me an account how the estate was improved, and what it produced a year, with a particular of the number of squares, or acres, that it contained; how planted, how many slaves there were upon it; and, making two and twenty crosses for blessings, told me he had said so many *Ave Marias* to thank the blessed Virgin that I was alive, inviting me very passionately to come over and take possession of my own, and in the mean time to give him orders to whom he should deliver my effects, if I did not come myself; concluding with a hearty tender of his friendship, and that of his family; and sent me, as a present, seven fine leopards' skins, which he had, it seems, received from *Afrua* by some other ship which he had sent thither, and who, it seems, had made a better voyage than I. He sent me also five chests of excellent sweet-meats, and a hundred pieces of gold uncoined, not quite so large as moidores.

By the same fleet my two merchant-trustees shipped me 1200 chests of sugar, 800 rolls of tobacco, and the rest of the whole account in gold.

I might well say now, indeed, that the latter end of *Job* was better than the beginning. It is impossible to express here the flutterings of my very heart, when I looked over these letters, and especially when I found all my wealth about me; for as the *Brasil* ships come all in fleets, the same ships which brought my letters brought my goods; and the effects were safe in the river before the letter came to my hand. In a word, I turned pale, and grew sick; and had not the old man run and fetched me a cordial, I believe the sudden surprise of joy had overset nature, and I had died upon the spot.

Nay, after that, I continued very ill, and was so some hours, till a physician being sent for, and something of the real cause of my illness being known, he ordered me to be let blood, after which I had relief, and grew well: but I verily believe, if it had

tary, and caused him to draw up a general release or discharge for the 470 moidores which he had acknowledged he owed me, in the fullest and firmest manner possible; after which I caused a procuration to be drawn, empowering him to be my receiver of the annual profits of my plantation, and appointed my partner to account to him, and make the returns by the usual fleets to him in my name; and a clause in the end, being a grant of 100 moidores a year to him during his life, out of the effects; and fifty moidores a year to his son after him, for his life. And thus I requited my old man.

I was now to consider which way to steer my course next, and what to do with the estate that Providence had thus put into my hands; and, indeed, I had more care upon my head now than I had in my silent state of life in the island, where I wanted nothing but what I had, and had nothing but what I wanted; whereas I had now a great charge upon me, and my business was how to secure it. I had never a cave to hide my money in, or a place where it might lie without lock or key, till it grew mouldy and tarnished before any body would meddle with it. On the contrary, I knew not where to put it, or who to trust with it; my old patron, the captain, indeed, was honest, and that was the only refuge I had.

In the next place, my interest in the *Brasils* seemed to summon me thither; but now I could not tell how to think of going thither till I had settled my affairs, and left my effects in some safe hands behind me. At first I thought of my old friend the widow, who, I knew, was honest, and would be just to me, but then she was in years, and but poor, and, for aught I knew, might be in debt; so that, in a word, I had no way but to go back to *England* myself, and take my effects with me.

It was some months, however, before I resolved upon this; and therefore as I had rewarded the old captain fully, and to satisfaction, who had been my former benefactor, so I began to

think of my poor widow, whose husband had been my first benefactor, and she, while it was in her power, my faithful steward and instructor. So the first thing I did, I got a merchant in *Lisbon* to write to his correspondent in *London*, not only to pay a bill, but to go find her out, and carry her in money a hundred pounds from me, and to talk with her, and comfort her in her poverty, by telling her she should, if I lived, have a further supply. At the same time I sent my two sisters in the country, each of them a hundred pounds, they being, though not in want, yet not in very good circumstances; one having been married, and left a widow; and the other having a husband not so kind to her as he should be.

But among all my relations or acquaintances, I could not yet pitch upon one to whom I durst commit the gross of my stock, that I might go away to the *Brasils*, and leave things safe behind me; and this greatly perplexed me.

I had once a mind to have gone to the *Brasils*, and have settled myself there, for I was, as it were, naturalized to the place; but I had some little scruple in my mind about religion, which insensibly drew me back, of which I shall say more presently. However, it was not religion that kept me from going there for the present; and as I had made no scruple of being openly of the religion of the country, all the while I was among them, so neither did I yet; only that now and then, having of late thought more of it than formerly, when I began to think of living and dying among them, I began to regret my having professed myself a Papist, and thought it might not be the best religion to die with.

But, as I have said, this was not the main thing that kept me from going to the *Brasils*, but that really I did not know with whom to leave my effects behind me; so I resolved at last to go to *England* with it, where if I arrived, I concluded I should make some acquaintance, or find some relations, that would be faithful

to me; and accordingly I prepared to go for *England* with all my wealth.

In order to prepare things for my going home, I first (the *Brasil* fleet being just going away) resolved to give answers suitable to the just and faithful account of things I had from thence; and first to the prior of *St. Augustine*, I wrote a letter full of thanks for their just dealings, and the offer of the 872 moidores, which was undisposed of; which I desired might be given, 500 to the monastery, and 372 to the poor, as the prior should direct, desiring the good *Padre's* prayers for me, and the like.

I wrote next a letter of thanks to my two trustees, with all the acknowledgment that so much justice and honesty called for; as for sending them any present, they were far above having any occasion for it.

Lastly, I wrote to my partner, acknowledging his industry in the improving the plantation, and his integrity in increasing the stock of the works, giving him instructions for his future government of my part, according to the powers I had left with my old patron, to whom I desired him to send whatever became due to me, till he should hear from me more particularly: assuring him that it was my intention, not only to come to him, but to settle myself there for the remainder of my life. To this I added a very handsome present of some *Staaten* silks for his wife and two daughters, for such the captain's son informed me he had; with two pieces of fine *English* broad-cloth, the best I could get in *Lisbon*, five pieces of black baize, and some *Flanders* lace of a good value.

Having thus settled my affairs, sold my cargo, and turned all my effects into good bills of exchange, my next difficulty was, which way to go to *England*. I had been accustomed enough to the sea, and yet I had a strange aversion to go to *England* by sea at that time; and though I could give no reason for it, yet

the difficulty increased upon me so much, that though I had once shipped my baggage in order to go, yet I altered my mind, and that not once, but two or three times.

It is true, I had been very unfortunate by sea, and this might be some of the reasons. But let no man slight the strong impulses of his own thoughts in cases of such moment. Two of the ships which I had singled out to go in, I mean more particularly singled out than any other, that is to say, so as in one of them to put my things on board, and in the other to have agreed with the captain; I say, two of these ships miscarried, *viz.* one was taken by the *Algerine*, and the other was cast away on the *Start*, near *Torbay*, and all the people drowned, except three; so that in either of those vessels I had been made miserable, and in which most, it was hard to say.

Having been thus harassed in my thoughts, my old pilot, to whom I communicated every thing, pressed me earnestly not to go by sea; but either to go by land to the *Groyne*, and cross over the Bay of *Biscay* to *Rochelle*, from whence it was but an easy and safe journey by land to *Paris*, and so to *Calais* and *Dover*; or to go up to *Madrid*, and so all the way by land through *France*.

In a word, I was so prepossessed against my going by sea at all, except from *Calais* to *Dover*, that I resolved to travel all the way by land; which, as I was not in haste, and did not value the charge, was by much the pleasanter way; and to make it more so, my old captain brought an *English* gentleman, the son of a merchant in *Lisbon*, who was willing to travel with me; after which, we picked up two more *English* merchants also, and two young *Portuguese* gentlemen, the last going to *Paris* only; so that we were in all six of us, and five servants, the two merchants, and the two *Portuguese*, contenting themselves with one servant between two, to save the charge; and as for me, I got an *English* sailor to travel with me as a servant, besides my

man *Friday*, who was too much a stranger to be capable of supplying the place of a servant on the road.

In this manner I set out from *Lisbon*: and our company being very all well mounted and armed, we made a little troop, whereof did they me the honour to call me captain, as well because I was the oldest man, as because I had two servants, and indeed was the original of the whole journey.

As I have troubled you with none of my sea journals, so shall I trouble you with none of my land journal. But some adventures that happened to us in this tedious and difficult journey, I must not omit.

When we came to *Madrid*, we, being all of us strangers to *Spain*, were willing to stay some time to see the court of *Spain*, and to see what was worth observing: but it being the latter part of the summer, we hastened away, and set out from *Madrid* about the middle of *October*. But when we came to the edge of *Navarre*, we were alarmed at several towns on the way, with an account that so much snow was fallen on the *French* side of the mountains, that several travellers were obliged to come back to *Pampeluna*, after having attempted, at an extreme hazard, to pass on.

When we came to *Pampeluna* itself, we found it so indeed; and to me that had been always used to a hot climate, and indeed to countries where we could scarce bear any clothes on, the cold was insufferable; nor indeed was it more painful than it was surprising, to come but ten days before out of the Old *Castile*, where the weather was not only warm, but very hot, and immediately to feel a wind from the *Pyrenean* mountains, so very keen, so severely cold, as to be intolerable, and to endanger benumbing and perishing of our fingers and toes.

Poor *Friday* was really frightened when he saw the mountains all covered with snow, and felt cold weather, which he had never seen or felt before in his life.

To mend the matter, after we came to *Pampeluna*, it continued snowing with so much violence, and so long, that the people said, winter was come before its time; and the roads, which were difficult before, were now quite impassable: in a word, the snow lay in some places too thick for us to travel; and being not hard frozen, as is the case in northern countries, there was no going without being in danger of being buried alive every step. We staid no less than twenty days at *Pampeluna*; when (seeing the winter coming on, and no likelihood of its being better, for it was the severest winter all over *Europe* that had been known in the memory of man) I proposed that we should all go away to *Fontarabia*, and there take shipping for *Bourdeaux*, which was a very little voyage.

But while we were considering this, there came in four *French* gentlemen, who, having been stopped on the *French* side of the passes, as we were on the *Spanish*, had found out a guide, who traversing the country near the head of *Languedoc*, had brought

also twelve other gentlemen, with their servants, some French, some Spanish, who, as I said, had attempted to go, and were obliged to come back again.

Accordingly we all set out from *Pampeluna*, with our guide, on the fifteenth of November, and indeed, I was surprised, when, instead of going forward, he came directly back with us, on the same road that we came from *Madrid*, above twenty miles; when having passed two rivers, and come into the plain country, we found ourselves in a warm climate again, where the country was pleasant, and no snow to be seen; but on a sudden, turning to his left, he approached the mountains another way; and though it is true, the hills and the precipices looked dreadful, yet he made so many toils, such meanders, and led us by such winding ways, we insensibly passed the height of the mountains, without being much incumbered with the snow; and all on a sudden he shewed us the pleasant fruitful provinces of *Languedoc* and *Gascogne*, all green and flourishing; though indeed it was at a great distance, and we had some rough way to pass yet.

We were a little uneasy, however, when we found it snowed one whole day and a night, so fast, that we could not travel; but he bid us be easy, we should soon be past it all. We found, indeed, that we began to descend every day, and to come more *easy* than before; and so, depending upon our guide, we went on.

It was about two hours before night, when our guide being something before us, and not just in sight, out rushed three monstrous wolves, and after them a bear, out of a hollow way, adjoining to a thick wood: two of the wolves flew upon the guide, and had he been half a mile before us, he had been devoured indeed, before we could have helped him: one of them fastened upon his horse, and the other attacked the man with that violence that he had not time, or not presence of mind enough, to draw his pistol, but hallooed and cried out to us most loudly. My man *Friday* being next to me, I bid him ride up, and see

what was the matter. As soon as *Friday* came in sight of the man, he hallooed, as loud as the other, *O master! O master!* But, like a bold fellow, rode directly up to the poor man, and with his pistol shot the wolf that attacked him into the head.

It was happy for the poor man that it was my man *Friday*; for he, having been used to that kind of creature in his country, had no fear upon him, but went close up to him, and shot him as above; whereas any of us would have fired at a farther distance, and have perhaps either missed the wolf, or endangered shooting the man.

But it was enough to have terrified a bolder man than I, and indeed it alarmed all our company, when, with the noise of *Friday*'s pistol, we heard on both sides the dismallest howling of wolves, and the noise redoubled by the echo of the mountains, that it was to us as if there had been a prodigious multitude of them; and perhaps indeed there was not such a few, as that we had no cause of apprehensions.

prising manner, as that which followed between *Friday* and the bear, which gave us all (though at first we were surprised and afraid for him) the greatest diversion imaginable; as the bear is a heavy, clumsy creature, and does not gallop as the wolf does, who is swift and light; so he has two particular qualities, which generally are the rule of his actions; first as to men, who are not his proper prey, I say not his proper prey, because though I cannot say what excessive hunger might do, which was now their case, the ground being all covered with snow; yet as to men, he does not usually attempt them, unless they first attack him; on the contrary, if you meet him in the woods, if you do not meddle with him, he will not meddle with you; yet then you must take care to be very civil to him, and give him the road; for he is a very nice gentleman; he will not go a step out of the way for a prince; nay, if you are really afraid, your best way is to look another way, and keep going on; for sometimes, if you stop, and stand still, and look stedfastly at him, he takes it for an affront; and if you throw or toss any thing at him, and it hits him, though it were but a bit of stick as big as your finger, he takes it for an affront, and sets all other business aside to pursue his revenge; for he will have satisfaction in point of honour, and this is his first quality; the next is, that if he be once affronted, he will never leave you, night or day, till he has his revenge, but follows at a good round rate till he overtakes you.

My man *Friday* had delivered our guide, and when we came up to him, he was helping him off from his horse; for the man was both hurt and frightened, and indeed the last more than the first; when, on the sudden we spied the bear come out of the wood, and a vast monstrous one it was, the biggest by far that ever I saw: we were all a little surprised when we saw him; but when *Friday* saw him, it was easy to see joy and courage in the fellow's countenance: *O! O! O!* says *Friday*, three times,

pointing to him, *O master! you give me te leave, me shakee te hand with him, me make you good laugh.*

. I was surprised to see the fellow so pleased, *You fool you, says I, he will eat you up. Eatee me up! eatee me up!* says *Friday*, twice over again; *Me eates him up; me make you good laugh;* you all stay here, me shew you good laugh: so down he sits, and gets his boots off in a moment, and put on a pair of pumps (as we call the flat shoes they wear) and which he had in his pocket, gives my other servant his horse, and, with his gun, away he flew, swift like the wind.

The bear was walking softly on, and offered to meddle with nobody, till *Friday* coming pretty near, calls to him, as if the bear could understand him: *Hark ye, hark ye,* says *Friday*, *me speakee wit you.* We followed at a distance; for now being come down on the *Gascoigne* side of the mountains, we were entered a vast great forest, where the country was plain, and pretty open, though many trees in it scattered here and there.

*Friday*, who had, as we say, the heels of the bear, came up with him quickly, and takes up a great stone, and throws at him, and it hit him just on the head; but did him no more harm than if he had thrown it against a wall; but it answered *Friday's* end; for the rogue was so void of fear, that he did it purely to make the bear follow him, and shew us some laugh, as he called it.

As soon as the bear felt the stone, and saw him, he turns about, and comes after him, taking devilish long strides, and shuffling along at a strange rate, so as would put a horse to a middling gallop: away runs *Friday*, and takes his course, as if he ran towards us for help; so we all resolved to fire at once upon the bear, and deliver my man; though I was angry at him heartily for bringing the bear back upon us, when he was going about his own business another way; and especially I was angry that he had turned the bear upon us, and then run away; and I called out, *You dog, said I, is this your making us laugh? Come*

away, and take your horse, that we may shoot the creature. He hears me, and cries out, *No shoot, no shoot, stand still, you get much laugh*: and as the nimble creature run two foot for the beast's one, he turned on a sudden, on one side of us, and seeing a great oak tree, fit for his purpose, he beckoned to us to follow, and doubling his pace, he gets nimbly up the tree, laying his gun down upon the ground, at about five or six yards from the bottom of the tree.

The bear soon came to the tree, and we followed at a distance; the first thing he did, he stopped at the gun, smelt to it, but let it lie, and up he scrambles into the tree, climbing like a cat, though so monstrously heavy. I was amazed at the folly, as I thought it, of my man, and could not for my life see any thing to laugh at yet, till seeing the bear get up the tree, we all rode nearer to him.

When we came to the tree, there was *Friday* got out to the small end of a large limb of the tree, and the bear got about half way to him; as soon as the bear got out to that part where the limb of the tree was weaker, *Ha, says he to us, now you see me teachee the bear dance*; so he falls a jumping, and shaking the bough, at which the bear began to totter, but stood still, and began to look behind him, to see how he should get back; then indeed we did laugh heartily. But *Friday* had not done with him by a great deal; when he sees him stand still, he calls out to him again, as if he had supposed the bear could speak *English*, *What, you come no further? Pray you come further.* So he fell a jumping and shaking the trees; and the bear, just as if he understood what he said, did come a little further; then he fell a jumping again, and the bear stopped again.

We thought now was a good time to knock him on the head, and I called to *Friday* to stand still, and we would shoot the bear; but he cried out earnestly, *O pray! O pray! no shoot, me don't by and then; he would have said by and bye.* However, to

horten the story, *Friday* danced so much, and the bear stood so icklish, that we had laughing enough indeed, but still could not imagine what the fellow would do ; for first we thought he depended upon shaking the bear off ; and we found the bear was too cunning for that too ; for he would not go out far enough to be thrown down, but clings fast with his great broad claws and feet, so that we could not imagine what would be the end of it, and where the jest would be at last.

But *Friday* put us out of doubt quickly ; for seeing the bear clinging fast to the bough, and that he could not be persuaded to come any farther, *Well, well, says Friday, you no come farther, me go, me go ; you no come to me, me go come to you* ; and upon this he goes out to the smallest end of the bough, where it would pend with his weight, and gently lets himself down by it, sliding down the bough till he came near enough to jump down on his feet, and away he ran to his gun, takes it up, and stands still.

*Well said I to him. Friday what will you do now ? Why*

This was, indeed, a good diversion to us, but we were still in a wild place, and our guide very much hurt, and what to do we hardly knew ; the howling of wolves run much in my head ; and indeed except the noise I once heard on the shore of Africa, of which I have said something already, I never heard any thing that filled me with so much horror.

These things, and the approach of night, called us off, or else, as *Friday* would have had us, we should certainly have taken the skin of this monstrous creature off, which was worth saving ; but we had three leagues to go, and our guide hastened us ; so we left him, and went forward on our journey.

The ground was still covered with snow, though not so deep and dangerous as on the mountains ; and the ravenous creatures, as we heard afterwards, were come down into the forest and plain country, pressed by hunger, to seek for food, and had done a great deal of mischief in the villages, where they surprised the country people, killed a great many of their sheep and horses, and some people too.

We had one dangerous place to pass, which our guide told us, if there were any more wolves in the country, we should find them there ; and this was in a small plain, surrounded with woods on every side, and a long narrow defile or lane, which we were to pass to get through the wood, and then we should come to the village where we were to lodge.

It was within half an hour of sunset when we entered the first wood ; and a little after sunset when we came into the plain. We met with nothing in the first wood, except that in a little plain within the wood, which was not above two furlongs over, we saw five great wolves cross the road, full speed one after another, as if they had been in chase of some prey, and had it in view : they took no notice of us, and were gone and out of our sight in a few moments.

Upon this our guide, who, by the way, was a wretched faint-

hearted fellow, bid us keep in a ready posture, for he believed there were more wolves a coming.

We kept our arms ready, and our eyes about us; but we saw no more wolves till we came through that wood, which was near half a league, and entered the plain; as soon as we came into the plain, we had occasion enough to look about us. The first object we met with was a dead horse, that is to say, a poor horse which the wolves had killed, and at least a dozen of them at work: we could not say eating of him, but picking of his bones rather; for they had eaten up all the flesh before.

We did not think fit to disturb them at their feast, neither did they take much notice of us. *Fridgy* would have let fly at them, but I would not suffer him by any means; for I found we were like to have more business upon our hands than we were aware of. We were not gone half over the plain, but we began to hear the wolves howl in the wood on our left, in a frightful manner: and presently after we saw about a hundred coming on

and went bleeding off, as we could see by the snow: I found they stopped, but did not immediately retreat; whereupon remembering that I had been told, that the fiercest creatures were terrified at the voice of a man, I caused all our company to halloo as loud as we could, and I found the notion not altogether mistaken; for upon our shout, they began to retire, and turn about; then I ordered a second volley to be fired in their rear, which put them to the gallop, and away they went to the woods.

This gave us leisure to charge our pieces again, and that we might lose no time, we kept going; but we had but little more than loaded our fusils, and put ourselves into a readiness, when we heard a terrible noise in the same wood, on our left; only that it was further onward the same way we were to go.

The night was coming on, and the light began to be dusky, which made it the worse on our side; but the noise increasing, we could easily perceive that it was the howling and yelling of those hellish creatures; and, on a sudden, we perceived two or three troops of wolves on our left, one behund us, and one on our front, so that we seemed to be surrounded with them; however, as they did not fall upon us, we kept our way forward, as fast as we could make our horses go, which, the way being very rough, was only a good large trot; and in this manner we came in view of the entrance of a wood through which we were to pass, at the farther side of the plain; but we were greatly surprised, when, coming nearer the lane, or pass, we saw a confused number of wolves standing just at the entrance.

On a sudden, at another opening of the wood, we heard the noise of a gun; and, looking that way, out rushed a horse, with a saddle and bridle on him, flying like the wind, and sixteen or seventeen wolves after him full speed; indeed the horse had the heels of them; but as we supposed that he coult not hold it at that rate, we doubted not but they would get up with him at last; and no question but they did.

But here we had a most horrible sight ; for, riding up to the entrance where the horse came out, we found the carcase of another horse, and of two men devoured by the ravenous creatures, and one of the men was no doubt the same who we heard fired the gun, for there lay a gun just by him fired off ; but as to the man, his head, and the upper part of his body, was eaten up.

This filled us with horror, and we knew not what course to take ; but the creatures resolved us soon, for they gathered about us presently, in hopes of prey ; and I verily believe there were three hundred of them. It happened very much to our advantage, that at the entrance into the wood, but a little way from it, there lay some large timber trees, which had been cut down the summer before, and I suppose lay there for carriage ; I drew my little troop in among those trees, and placing ourselves in a line behind one long tree, I advised them all to alight, and keeping that tree before us, for a breast-work, to stand in a triangle, or three fronts, inclosing our horses in the centre.

also twelve other gentlemen, with their servants, some *French*, some *Spanish*, who, as I said, had attempted to go, and were obliged to come back again.

Accordingly we all set out from *Pampeluna*, with our guide, on the fifteenth of *November*, and indeed, I was surprised, when, instead of going forward, he came directly back with us, on the same road that we came from *Madrid*, above twenty miles; when having passed two rivers, and come into the plain country, we found ourselves in a warm climate again, where the country was pleasant, and no snow to be seen; but on a sudden, turning to his left, he approached the mountains another way; and though it is true, the hills and the precipices looked dreadful, yet he made so many tours, such meanders, and led us by such winding ways, we insensibly passed the height of the mountains, without being much incumbered with the snow; and all on a sudden he shewed us the pleasant fruitful provinces of *Languedoc* and *Gascoigne*, all green and flourishing; though indeed it was at a great distance, and we had some rough way to pass yet.

We were a little uneasy, however, when we found it snowed one whole day and a night, so fast, that we could not travel; but he bid us be easy, we should soon be past it all. We found, indeed, that we began to descend every day, and to come more *north* than before; and so, depending upon our guide, we went on.

It was about two hours before night, when our guide being something before us, and not just in sight, out rushed three monstrous wolves, and after them a bear, out of a hollow way, adjoining to a thick wood: two of the wolves flew upon the guide, and had he been half a mile before us, he had been devoured indeed, before we could have helped him: one of them fastened upon his horse, and the other attacked the man with that violence that he had not time, or not presence of mind enough, to draw his pistol, but hallooed and cried out to us most lustily. My man *Friday* being next to me, I bid him ride up, and see

what was the matter. As soon as *Friday* came in sight of the man, he hallooed, as loud as the other, *O master! O master!* But, like a bold fellow, rode directly up to the poor man, and with his pistol shot the wolf that attacked him into the head.

It was happy for the poor man that it was my man *Friday*; for he, having been used to that kind of creature in his country, had no fear upon him, but went close up to him, and shot him as above; whereas any of us would have fired at a farther distance, and have perhaps either missed the wolf, or endangered shooting the man.

But it was enough to have terrified a bolder man than I, and indeed it alarmed all our company, when, with the noise of *Friday's* pistol, we heard on both sides the dismallest howling of wolves, and the noise redoubled by the echo of the mountains, that it was to us as if there had been a prodigious multitude of them; and perhaps indeed there was not such a few, as that we had no cause of apprehensions.

However, as *Friday* had killed this wolf, the other, that had fastened upon the horse, left him immediately, and fled, having happily fastened upon his head, where the bosses of the bridle had stuck in his teeth, so that he had not done him much hurt: the man, indeed, was most hurt; for the raging creature had bit him twice, once on the arm, and the other time a little above his knee; and he was just as it were tumbling down by the disorder of the horse, when *Friday* came up, and shot the wolf.

It is easy to suppose, that at the noise of *Friday's* pistols we all mended our pace, and rid up as fast as the way (which was very difficult) would give us leave, to see what was the matter: as soon as we came clear of the trees, which blinded us before, we saw plainly what had been the case, and how *Friday* had disengaged the poor guide; though we did not presently discern what kind of creature it was he had killed.

*But never was a fight managed so hardly, and in such a sur-*

prising manner, as that which followed between *Friday* and the bear, which gave us all (though at first we were surprised and afraid for him) the greatest diversion imaginable; as the bear is a heavy, clumsy creature, and does not gallop as the wolf does, who is swift and light; so he has two particular qualities, which generally are the rule of his actions; first as to men, who are not his proper prey, I say not his proper prey, because though I cannot say what excessive hunger might do, which was now their case, the ground being all covered with snow; yet as to men, he does not usually attempt them, unless they first attack him; on the contrary, if you meet him in the woods, if you do not meddle with him, he will not meddle with you; yet then you must take care to be very civil to him, and give him the road; for he is a very nice gentleman; he will not go a step out of the way for a prince; nay, if you are really afraid, your best way is to look another way, and keep going on; for sometimes, if you stop, and stand still, and look stedfastly at him, he takes it for an affront; and if you throw or toss any thing at him, and it hits him, though it were but a bit of stick as big as your finger, he takes it for an affront, and sets all other business aside to pursue his revenge; for he will have satisfaction in point of honour, and this is his first quality; the next is, that if he be once affronted, he will never leave you, night or day, till he has his revenge, but follows at a good round rate till he overtakes you.

My man *Friday* had delivered our guide, and when we came up to him, he was helping him off from his horse; for the man was both hurt and frightened, and indeed the last more than the first; when, on the sudden we spied the bear come out of the wood, and a vast monstrous one it was, the biggest by far that ever I saw: we were all a little surprised when we saw him; but when *Friday* saw him, it was easy to see joy and courage in the fellow's countenance: *O! O! O!* says *Friday*, three times,

pointing to him, *O master! you give me to leave, me shakeet le hand with him, me make you good laugh.*

. I was surprised to see the fellow so pleased, *You fool you, says I, he will eat you up. Eatee me up! eatee me up!* says *Friday*, twice over again; *Me eatee him up; me make you good laugh;* you all stay here, me shew you good laugh: so down he sits, and gets his boots off in a moment, and put on a pair of pumps (as we call the flat shoes they wear) and which he had in his pocket, gives my other servant his horse, and, with his gun, away he flew, swift like the wind.

The bear was walking softly on, and offered to meddle with nobody, till *Friday* coming pretty near, calls to him, as if the bear could understand him: *Hark ye, hark ye, says Friday, me speakee wit you.* We followed at a distance; for now being come down on the *Gascoigne* side of the mountains, we were entered a vast great forest, where the country was plain, and pretty open, though many trees in it scattered here and there.

*Friday*, who had, as we say, the heels of the bear, came up with him quickly, and takes up a great stone, and throws at him, and it hit him just on the head; but did him no more harm than if he had thrown it against a wall; but it answered *Friday's* end; for the rogue was so void of fear, that he did it purely to make the bear follow him, and shew us some laugh, as he called it.

As soon as the bear felt the stone, and saw him, he turns about, and comes after him, taking devilish long strides, and shuffling along at a strange rate, so as would put a horse to a middling gallop: away runs *Friday*, and takes his course, as if he ran towards us for help; so we all resolved to fire at once upon the bear, and deliver my man; though I was angry at him heartily for bringing the bear back upon us, when he was going about his own business another way; and especially I was angry that he had turned the bear upon us, and then run away; and I called out, *You dog, said I, is this your making us laugh? Come*

*away, and take your horse, that we may shoot the creature.* He hears me, and cries out, *No shoot, no shoot, stand still, you get much laugh:* and as the nimble creature ran two foot for the beast's one, he turned on a sudden, on one side of us, and seeing a great oak tree, fit for his purpose, he beckoned to us to follow, and doubling his pace, he gets nimbly up the tree, laying his gun down upon the ground, at about five or six yards from the bottom of the tree.

The bear soon came to the tree, and we followed at a distance; the first thing he did, he stopped at the gun, smelt to it, but let it lie, and up he scrambles into the tree, climbing like a cat, though so monstrously heavy. I was amazed at the folly, as I thought it, of my man, and could not for my life see any thing to laugh at yet, till seeing the bear get up the tree, we all rode nearer to him.

When we came to the tree, there was *Friday* got out to the small end of a large limb of the tree, and the bear got about half way to him; as soon as the bear got out to that part where the limb of the tree was weaker, *Ha*, says he to us, *now you see me teachee the bear dance;* so he falls a jumping, and shaking the bough, at which the bear began to totter, but stood still, and began to look behind him, to see how he should get back; then indeed we did laugh heartily. But *Friday* had not done with him by a great deal: when he sees him stand still, he calls out to him again, as if he had supposed the bear could speak *English*, *What, you come no further? Pray you come further.* So he left jumping and shaking the trees; and the bear, just as if he understood what he said, did come a little further; then he fell a jumping again, and the bear stopped again.

We thought now was a good time to knock him on the head, and I called to *Friday* to stand still, and we would shoot the bear; but he cried out earnestly, *O pray! O pray! no shoot, me shoot by and then;* he would have said *by and bye.* However, to

shorten the story, *Friday* danced so much, and the bear stood so ticklish, that we had laughing enough indeed, but still could not imagine what the fellow would do ; for first we thought he depended upon shaking the bear off ; and we found the bear was too cunning for that too ; for he would not go out far enough to be thrown down, but clings fast with his great broad claws and feet, so that we could not imagine what would be the end of it, and where the jest would be at last.

But *Friday* put us out of doubt quickly ; for seeing the bear clinging fast to the bough, and that he could not be persuaded to come any farther, *Well, well, says Friday, you no come farther, me go, me go ; you no come to me, me go come to you* ; and upon this he goes out to the smallest end of the bough, where it would bend with his weight, and gently lets himself down by it, sliding down the bough till he came near enough to jump down on his feet, and away he ran to his gun, takes it up, and stands still.

Well, said I to him, *Friday*, what will you do now ? Why don't you shoot him : *No shoot, says Friday, no yet ; me shoot now me no kill ; me stay give you one more laugh* ; and indeed so he did, as you will see presently ; for when the bear see his enemy gone, he comes back from the bough where he stood, but did it mighty leisurely, looking behind him every step, and coming backward till he got into the body of the tree ; then with the same hinder end foremost, he came down the tree, grasping it with his claws, and moving one foot at a time, very leisurely ; at this juncture, and just before he could set his hind feet upon the ground, *Friday* stepped close to him, clapped the muzzle of his piece into his ear, and shot him as dead as a stone.

Then the rogue turned about, to see if we did not laugh ; and when he saw we were pleased by our looks, he falls a laughing himself very loud ; *So we kill bear in my country, says Friday. So you kill them, said I ; why you have no guns. No, says he, no gun, but shoot great much long arrow.*

This was, indeed, a good diversion to us, but we were still in a wild place, and our guide very much hurt, and what to do we hardly knew; the howling of wolves run much in my head; and indeed except the noise I once heard on the shore of *Africa*, of which I have said something already, I never heard any thing that filled me with so much horror.

These things, and the approach of night, called us off, or else, as *Friday* would have had us, we should certainly have taken the skin of this monstrous creature off, which was worth saving; but we had three leagues to go, and our guide hastened us; so we left him, and went forward on our journey.

The ground was still covered with snow, though not so deep and dangerous as on the mountains; and the ravenous creatures, as we heard afterwards, were come down into the forest and plain country, pressed by hunger, to seek for food, and had done a great deal of mischief in the villages, where they surprised the country people, killed a great many of their sheep and horses, and some people too.

We had one dangerous place to pass, which our guide told us, if there were any more wolves in the country, we should find them there; and this was in a small plain, surrounded with woods on every side, and a long narrow defile or lane, which we were to pass to get through the wood, and then we should come to the village where we were to lodge.

It was within half an hour of sunset when we entered the first wood; and a little after sunset when we came into the plain. We met with nothing in the first wood, except that in a little plain within the wood, which was not above two furlongs over, we saw five great wolves cross the road, full speed one after another, as if they had been in chase of some prey, and had it in view; they took no notice of us, and were gone and out of our sight in a few moments.

Upon this our guide, who, by the way, was a wretched faint-

the difficulty increased upon me so much, that though I had once shipped my baggage in order to go, yet I altered my mind, and that not once, but two or three times.

It is true, I had been very unfortunate by sea, and this might be some of the reasons. But let no man slight the strong impulses of his own thoughts in cases of such moment. Two of the ships which I had singled out to go in, I mean more particularly singled out than any other, that is to say, so as in one of them to put my things on board, and in the other to have agreed with the captain ; I say, two of these ships miscarried, *viz.* one was taken by the *Algerine*, and the other was cast away on the *Start*, near *Torbay*, and all the people drowned, except three ; so that in either of those vessels I had been made miserable, and in which most, it was hard to say.

Having been thus harassed in my thoughts, my old pilot, to whom I communicated every thing, pressed me earnestly not to go by sea ; but either to go by land to the *Groyne*, and cross over the Bay of *Biscay* to *Rochelle*, from whence it was but an easy and safe journey by land to *Paris*, and so to *Calais* and *Dover* ; or to go up to *Madrid*, and so all the way by land through *France*.

In a word, I was so prepossessed against my going by sea at all, except from *Calais* to *Dover*, that I resolved to travel all the way by land ; which, as I was not in haste, and did not value the charge, was by much the pleasanter way ; and to make it more so, my old captain brought an *English* gentleman, the son of a merchant in *Lisbon*, who was willing to travel with me ; after which, we picked up two more *English* merchants also, and two young *Portuguese* gentlemen, the last going to *Paris* only ; so that we were in all six of us, and five servants, the two merchants, and the two *Portuguese*, contenting themselves with one servant between two, to save the charge ; and as for me, I got an *English* sailor to travel with me as a servant, besides my

man *Friday*, who was too much a stranger to be capable of supplying the place of a servant on the road.

In this manner I set out from *Lisbon*: and our company being very all well mounted and armed, we made a little troop, whereof did they me the honour to call me captain, as well because I was the oldest man, as because I had two servants, and indeed was the original of the whole journey.

As I have troubled you with none of my sea journals, so shall I trouble you with none of my land journal. But some adventures that happened to us in this tedious and difficult journey, I must not omit.

When we came to *Madrid*, we, being all of us strangers to *Spain*, were willing to stay some time to see the court of *Spain*, and to see what was worth observing; but it being the latter part of the summer, we hastened away, and set out from *Madrid* about the middle of *October*. But when we came to the edge of *Navarre*, we were alarmed at several towns on the way, with an account that so much snow was fallen on the *French* side of the mountains, that several travellers were obliged to come back to *Pampeluna*, after having attempted, at an extreme hazard, to pass on.

When we came to *Pampeluna* itself, we found it so indeed; and to me that had been always used to a hot climate, and indeed to countries where we could scarce bear any clothes on, the cold was insufferable; nor indeed was it more painful than it was surprising, to come but ten days before out of the Old *Castile*, where the weather was not only warm, but very hot, and immediately to feel a wind from the *Pyrenean* mountains, so very keen, so severely cold, as to be intolerable, and to endanger benumbing and perishing of our fingers and toes.

Poor *Friday* was really frightened when he saw the mountains all covered with snow, and felt cold weather, which he had never seen or felt before in his life.

To mend the matter, after we came to *Pampeluna*, it continued snowing with so much violence, and so long, that the people said, winter was come before its time; and the roads, which were difficult before, were now quite impassable: in a word, the snow lay in some places too thick for us to travel; and being not hard frozen, as is the case in northern countries, there was no going without being in danger of being buried alive every step. We staid no less than twenty days at *Pampeluna*; when (seeing the winter coming on, and no likelihood of its being better, for it was the severest winter all over *Europe* that had been known in the memory of man) I proposed that we should all go away to *Fontarabia*, and there take shipping for *Bourdeaux*, which was a very little voyage.

But while we were considering this, there came in four *French* gentlemen, who, having been stopped on the *French* side of the passes, as we were on the *Spanish*, had found out a guide, who traversing the country near the head of *Languedoc*, had brought them over the mountains by such ways, that they were not much incommoded with the snow; and where they met with snow in any quantity, they said it was frozen hard enough to bear them and their horses.

We sent for this guide, who told us, he would undertake to carry us the same way, with no hazard from the snow, provided we were armed sufficiently to protect ourselves from wild beasts; for he said, upon these great snows, it was frequent for some wolves to show themselves at the foot of the mountains, being made ravenous for want of food, the ground being covered with snow. We told him we were well enough prepared for such creatures as they were, if he would insure us from a kind of two-legged wolves, which we were told we were in most danger from, especially on the *French* side of the mountains.

He satisfied us there was no danger of that kind in the way that we were to go: so we readily agreed to follow him: as did

we had killed seventeen or eighteen of them, and lame twice as many ; yet they came on again.

I was loth to spend our last shot too hastily ; so I called my servant, not my man *Friday*, for he was better employed ; for, with the greatest dexterity imaginable, he had charged my fust and his own while we were engaged ; but, as I said, I called my other man ; and giving him a horn of powder, I bade him lay a train all along the piece of timber, and let it be a large train ; he did so, and had but just time to get away, when the wolves came up to it, and some were got up upon it ; when I, snapping an uncharged pistol close to the powder, set it on fire ; those that were upon the timber were scorched with it, and six or seven of them fell, or rather jumped in among us, with the force and fright of the fire ; we dispatched these in an instant, and the rest were so frightened with the light, which the night, for now it was very near dark, made more terrible, that they drew back a little.

Upon which I ordered our last pistols to be fired off in one volley, and after that we gave a shout ; upon this the wolves turned tail, and we sallied immediately upon near twenty lame ones, who we found struggling on the ground, and fell a cutting them with our swords, which answered our expectation ; for the crying and howling they made were better understood by their fellows ; so that they fled and left us.

We had, first and last, killed about threescore of them ; and had it been day-light, we had killed many more. The field of battle being thus cleared, we made forward again, for we had still near a league to go ; we heard the ravenous creatures howl and yell in the woods as we went, several times ; and sometimes we fancied we saw some of them, but the snow dazzling our eyes, we were not certain ; so in about an hour more we came to the town where we were to lodge, which we found in a terrible fright, and all in arms ; for, it seems, that, the night before, the wolves and some bears had broke into the village in the night,

and put them in a terrible fright ; and they were obliged to keep guard night and day, but especially in the night, to preserve their cattle, and indeed their people.

The next morning our guide was so ill, and his limbs so swelled with the rankling of his two wounds, that he could go no further ; so we were obliged to take a new guide there, and go to *Thou-louse*, where we found a warm climate, a fruitful, pleasant country, and no snow, no wolves, or any thing like them ; but when we told our story at *Thou-louse*, they told us it was nothing but what was ordinary in the great forest at the foot of the mountains, especially when the snow lay on the ground ; but they inquired much what kind of a guide we had gotten, that would venture to bring us that way in such a severe season ; and told us, it was a great chance we were not all devoured. When we told them how we placed ourselves, and the horses in the middle, they blamed us exceedingly, and told us it was fifty to one but we had been all destroyed : for it was the sight of the horses

to devour us, and having nothing to shelter us, or retreat to, I gave myself over for lost ; and as it was, I believe, I shall never care to cross those mountains again ; I think I would much rather go a thousand leagues by sea, though I were sure to meet with a storm once a week.

I have nothing uncommon to take notice of in my passage through France ; nothing but what other travellers have given an account of, with much more advantage than I can. I travelled from *Thsulouse* to *Paris*, and without any considerable stay, came to *Calais*, and landed safe at *Dover*, the fourteenth of *January*, after having had a severe cold season to travel in.

I was now come to the centre of my travels, and had in a little time all my new discovered estate safe about me, the bills of exchange, which I brought with me, having been very currently paid.

My principal guide and privy counsellor, was my good ancient widow, who, in gratitude for the money I had sent her, thought no pains too much, or care too great, to employ for me ; and I trusted her so entirely with every thing, that I was perfectly easy as to the security of my effects ; and indeed I was very happy from my beginning, and now to the end, in the unspotted integrity of this good gentlewoman.

And now I began to think of leaving my effects with this woman, and setting out for *Lisbon*, and so to the *Brasis* : but now another scruple came in the way, and that was religion ; for as I had entertained some doubts about the *Roman* religion, even while I was abroad, especially in my state of solitude ; so I knew there was no going to the *Brasis* for me, much less going to settle there, unless I resolved to embrace the *Roman* Catholic religion, without any reserve ; unless on the other hand I resolved to be a sacrifice to my principles, be a martyr for religion, and die in the Inquisition : so I resolved to stay at home, and if I could find means for it, to dispose of my plantation.

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I was surprised to see the fellow so pleased, *You fool you, says I, he will eat you up. Eatee me up! eatee me up!* says *Friday*, twice over again; *Me eatee him up; me make you good laugh; you all stay here, me shew you good laugh:* so down he sits, and gets his boots off in a moment, and put on a pair of pumps (as we call the flat shoes they wear) and which he had in his pocket, gives my other servant his horse, and, with his gun, away he flew, swift like the wind.

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The bear soon came to the tree, and we followed at a distance; the first thing he did, he stopped at the gun, smelt to it, but let it lie, and up he scrambles into the tree, climbing like a cat, though so monstrously heavy. I was amazed at the folly, as I thought it, of my man, and could not for my life see any thing to laugh at yet, till seeing the bear get up the tree, we all rode nearer to him.

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shorten the story, *Friday* danced so much, and the bear stood so ticklish, that we had laughing enough indeed, but still could not imagine what the fellow would do; for first we thought he depended upon shaking the bear off; and we found the bear was too cunning for that too; for he would not go out far enough to be thrown down, but clings fast with his great broad claws and feet, so that we could not imagine what would be the end of it, and where the jest would be at last.

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This was, indeed, a good diversion to us, but we were still in a wild place, and our guide very much hurt, and what to do we hardly knew; the howling of wolves run much in my head; and indeed except the noise I once heard on the shore of *Africa*, of which I have said something already, I never heard any thing that filled me with so much horror.

These things, and the approach of night, called us off, or else, as *Friday* would have had us, we should certainly have taken the skin of this monstrous creature off, which was worth saving; but we had three leagues to go, and our guide hastened us; so we left him, and went forward on our journey.

The ground was still covered with snow, though not so deep and dangerous as on the mountains; and the ravenous creatures, as we heard afterwards, were come down into the forest and plain country, pressed by hunger, to seek for food, and had done a great deal of mischief in the villages, where they surprised the country people, killed a great many of their sheep and horses, and some people too.

We had one dangerous place to pass, which our guide told us, if there were any more wolves in the country, we should find them there; and this was in a small plain, surrounded with woods on every side, and a long narrow defile or lane, which we were to pass to get through the wood, and then we should come to the village where we were to lodge.

It was within half an hour of sunset when we entered the first wood; and a little after sunset when we came into the plain. We met with nothing in the first wood, except that in a little plain within the wood, which was not above two furlongs over, we saw five great wolves cross the road, full speed one after another, as if they had been in chase of some prey, and had it in view; they took no notice of us, and were gone and out of our sight in a few moments.

Upon this our guide, who, by the way, was a wretched faint-

hearted fellow, bid us keep in a ready posture, for he believed there were more wolves a coming.

We kept our arms ready, and our eyes about us; but we saw no more wolves till we came through that wood, which was near half a league, and entered the plain; as soon as we came into the plain, we had occasion enough to look about us. The first object we met with was a dead horse, that is to say, a poor horse which the wolves had killed, and at least a dozen of them at work: we could not say eating of him, but picking of his bones rather; for they had eaten up all the flesh before.

We did not think fit to disturb them at their feast, neither did they take much notice of us. *Friday* would have let fly at them, but I would not suffer him by any means; for I found we were like to have more business upon our hands than we were aware of. We were not gone half over the plain, but we began to hear the wolves howl in the wood on our left, in a frightful manner; and presently after we saw about a hundred coming on directly towards us, all in a body, and most of them in a line, as regularly as an army drawn up by experienced officers. I scarce knew in what manner to receive them; but found to draw ourselves in a close line, was the only way; so we formed in a moment; but, that we might not have too much interval, I ordered, that only every other man should fire; and that the others who had not fired, should stand ready to give them a second volley immediately, if they continued to advance upon us; and that then those who had fired at first, should not pretend to load their fusils again, but stand ready, with every one a pistol, for we were all armed with a fusil, and a pair of pistols each man; so we were, by this method, able to fire six volleys, half of us at a time; however, at present, we had no necessity; for, upon firing the first volley, the enemy made a full stop, being terrified, as well with the noise as with the fire; four of them being shot into the head, dropped; several others were wounded,

and went bleeding off, as we could see by the snow : I found they stopped, but did not immediately retreat ; whereupon remembering that I had been told, that the fiercest creatures were terrified at the voice of a man, I caused all our company to halloo as loud as we could, and I found the notion not altogether mistaken ; for upon our shout, they began to retire, and turn about ; then I ordered a second volley to be fired in their rear, which put them to the gallop, and away they went to the woods.

This gave us leisure to charge our pieces again, and that we might lose no time, we kept going ; but we had but little more than loaded our fusils, and put ourselves into a readiness, when we heard a terrible noise in the same wood, on our left ; only that it was further onward the same way we were to go.

The night was coming on, and the light began to be dusky, which made it the worse on our side ; but the noise increasing, we could easily perceive that it was the howling and yelling of those hellish creatures ; and, on a sudden, we perceived two or three troops of wolves on our left, one behind us, and one on our front, so that we seemed to be surrounded with them ; however, as they did not fall upon us, we kept our way forward, as fast as we could make our horses go, which, the way being very rough, was only a good large trot ; and in this manner we came in view of the entrance of a wood through which we were to pass, at the farther side of the plain ; but we were greatly surprised, when, coming nearer the lane, or pass, we saw a confused number of wolves standing just at the entrance.

On a sudden, at another opening of the wood, we heard the noise of a gun ; and, looking that way, out rushed a horse, with a saddle and bridle on him, flying like the wind, and sixteen or seventeen wolves after him full speed ; indeed the horse had the heels of them ; but as we supposed that he could not hold it at that rate, we doubted not but they would get up with him at last ; and no question but they did.

But here we had a most horrible sight; for, riding up to the entrance where the horse came out, we found the carcase of another horse, and of two men devoured by the ravenous creatures, and one of the men was no doubt the same who we heard fired the gun, for there lay a gun just by him fired off; but as to the man, his head, and the upper part of his body, was eaten up.

This filled us with horror, and we knew not what course to take; but the creatures resolved us soon, for they gathered about us presently, in hopes of prey; and I verily believe there were three hundred of them. It happened very much to our advantage, that at the entrance into the wood, but a little way from it, there lay some large timber trees, which had been cut down the summer before, and I suppose lay there for carriage; I drew my little troop in among those trees, and placing ourselves in a line behind one long tree, I advised them all to alight, and keeping that tree before us, for a breast-work, to stand in a triangle, or three fronts, inclosing our horses in the centre.

We did so, and it was well we did: for never was a more furious charge than the creatures made upon us in the place; they came on us with a growling kind of noise, and mounted the piece of timber (which, as I said, was our breast-work,) as if they were only rushing upon their prey; and this fury of theirs, it seems, was principally occasioned by their seeing our horses behind us, which was the prey they aimed at: I ordered our men to fire, as before, every other man; and they took their aim so sure, that indeed they killed several of the wolves at the first volley; but there was a necessity to keep a continual firing, for they came on like devils, those behind pushing on those before.

When we had fired our second volley of our fusils we thought they stopped a little, and I hoped they would have gone off, but it was but a moment, for others came forward again: so we fired two volleys of our pistols; and I believe in these four firings,

we had killed seventeen or eighteen of them, and lamed twice as many ; yet they came on again.

I was loth to spend our last shot too hastily ; so I called my servant, not my man *Friday*, for he was better employed ; for, with the greatest dexterity imaginable, he had charged my fusil and his own while we were engaged ; but, as I said, I called my other man ; and giving him a horn of powder, I bade him lay a train all along the piece of timber, and let it be a large train ; he did so, and had but just time to get away, when the wolves came up to it, and some were got up upon it ; when I, snapping an uncharged pistol close to the powder, set it on fire ; those that were upon the timber were scorched with it, and six or seven of them fell, or rather jumped in among us, with the force and fright of the fire ; we dispatched these in an instant, and the rest were so frightened with the light, which the night, for now it was very near dark, made more terrible, that they drew back a little.

Upon which I ordered our last pistols to be fired off in one volley, and after that we gave a shout ; upon this the wolves turned tail, and we sallied immediately upon near twenty lame ones, who we found struggling on the ground, and fell a cutting them with our swords, which answered our expectation ; for the crying and howling they made were better understood by their fellows ; so that they fled and left us.

We had, first and last, killed about threescore of them ; and had it been day-light, we had killed many more. The field of battle being thus cleared, we made forward again, for we had still near a league to go ; we heard the ravenous creatures howl and yell in the woods as we went, several times ; and sometimes we fancied we saw some of them, but the snow dazzling our eyes, we were not certain ; so in about an hour more we came to the town where we were to lodge, which we found in a terrible fright, and all in arms ; for, it seems, that, the night before, the wolves and some bears had broke into the village in the night,

and put them in a terrible fright ; and they were obliged to keep guard night and day, but especially in the night, to preserve their cattle, and indeed their people.

The next morning our guide was so ill, and his limbs so swelled with the rankling of his two wounds, that he could go no further ; so we were obliged to take a new guide there, and go to *Thoulouse*, where we found a warm climate, a fruitful, pleasant country, and no snow, no wolves, or any thing like them ; but when we told our story at *Thoulouse*, they told us it was nothing but what was ordinary in the great forest at the foot of the mountains, especially when the snow lay on the ground ; but they inquired much what kind of a guide we had gotten, that would venture to bring us that way in such a severe season ; and told us, it was a *great chance* we were not all devoured. When we told them how we placed ourselves, and the horses in the middle, they blamed us exceedingly, and told us it was fifty to one but we had been all destroyed ; for it was the sight of the horses which made the wolves so furious, seeing their prey ; and that at other times they are really afraid of a gun ; but the being excessive hungry, and raging on that account, the eagerness to come at the horses had made them senseless of danger ; and that if we had not by the continued fire, and at last by the stratagem of the train of powder, mastered them, it had been great odds but that we had been torn to pieces ; whereas, had we been content to have sat still on horseback, and fired as horsemen, they would not have taken the horses so much for their own, when men were on their backs, as otherwise ; and withal they told us, that at last, if we had stood altogether, and left our horses, they would have been so eager to have devoured them, that we might have come off safe, especially having our fire-arms in our hands, and being so many in number.

For my part, I was never so sensible of danger in my life ; for seeing above three hundred devils come roaring and open-mouthed



## OF ROBINSON CRUSOE.

3

to devour us, and having nothing to shelter us, or retreat to, I gave myself over for lost ; and as it was, I believe, I shall never care to cross those mountains again ; I think I would much rather go a thousand leagues by sea, though I were sure to meet with a storm once a week.

I have nothing uncommon to take notice of in my passage through *France* ; nothing but what other travellers have given an account of, with much more advantage than I can. I travelled from *Toulouse* to *Paris*, and without any considerable stay, came to *Calais*, and landed safe at *Dover*, the fourteenth of *January*, after having had a severe cold season to travel in.

I was now come to the centre of my travels, and had in a little time all my new discovered estate safe about me, the bills of exchange, which I brought with me, having been very currently paid.

My principal guide and privy counsellor, was my good ancient widow, who, in gratitude for the money I had sent her, thought no pains too much, or care too great, to employ for me ; and I trusted her so entirely with every thing, that I was perfectly easy as to the security of my effects ; and indeed I was very happy from my beginning, and now to the end, in the unspotted integrity of this good gentlewoman.

And now I began to think of leaving my effects with this woman, and setting out for *Lisbon*, and so to the *Brasils* : but now another scruple came in the way, and that was religion ; for as I had entertained some doubts about the *Roman* religion, even while I was abroad, especially in my state of solitude ; so I knew there was no going to the *Brasils* for me, much less going to settle there, unless I resolved to embrace the *Roman* Catholic religion, without any reserve ; unless on the other hand I resolved to be a sacrifice to my principles, be a martyr for religion, and die in the Inquisition : so I resolved to stay at home, and if I could find means for it, to dispose of my plantation.

To this purpose I wrote to my old friend at *Lisbon*, who in return gave me notice, that he could easily dispose of it there: but that if I thought fit to give him leave to offer it in my name to the two merchants, the survivors of my trustees who lived in the *Brasils*, who must fully understand the value of it, who lived just upon the spot, and who I knew were very rich, so that he believed they would be fond of buying it; he did not doubt, but I should make 4 or 5000 pieces of eight the more of it.

Accordingly I agreed, gave him order to offer it to them, and he did so; and in about eight months more, the ship being then returned, he sent me account, that they had accepted the offer, and had remitted 33,000 pieces of eight to a correspondent of theirs at *Lisbon*, to pay for it.

In return I signed the instrument of sale in the form which they sent from *Lisbon*, and sent it to my old man, who sent me bills of exchange for 32,800 pieces of eight for the estate; reserving the payment of 100 reis a year to him (the old

I had to see my island, and to know if the poor *Spaniards* were in being there ; and how the rogues I left there had used them.

My true friend the widow earnestly dissuaded me from it, and so far prevailed with me, that almost for seven years she prevented my running abroad ; during which time I took my two nephews, the children of one of my brothers, into my care : the eldest having something of his own, I bred up as a gentleman, and gave him a settlement of some addition to his estate, after my decease ; the other I put out to a captain of a ship ; and after five years, finding him a sensible, bold, enterprising young fellow, I put him into a good ship, and sent him to sea : and this young fellow afterwards drew me in, as old as I was, to further adventures myself.

In the mean time, I in part settled myself here : for, first of all, I married, and that not either to my disadvantage or dissatisfaction, and had three children, two sons and one daughter : but my wife dying, and my nephew coming home with good success from a voyage to *Spain*, my inclination to go abroad, and his importunity, prevailed, and engaged me to go in his ship as a private trader to the *East Indies*. This was in the year 1694.

In this voyage I visited my new colony in the island, saw my successors the *Spaniards*, had the whole story of their lives, and of the villains I left there ; how at first they insulted the poor *Spaniards*, how they afterwards agreed, disagreed, united, separated, and how at last the *Spaniards* were obliged to use violence with them ; how they were subjected to the *Spaniards* ; how honestly the *Spaniards* used them ; a history, if it were entered into, as full of variety and wonderful accidents as my own part : particularly also as to their battles with the *Caribbeans*, who landed several times upon the island, and as to the improvement they made upon the island itself ; and how five of them made an attempt upon the main land, and brought away eleven men and

five women prisoners'; by which, at my coming, I found about twenty young children on the island.

Here I stayed about twenty days; left them supplies of all necessary things, and particularly of arms, powder, shot, clothes, tools, and two workmen, which I brought from *England* with me; *viz.* a carpenter and a smith.

Besides this, I shared the island into parts with them, reserved to myself the property of the whole, but gave them such parts, respectively, as they agreed on; and having settled all things with them, and engaged them not to leave the place, I left them here.

From thence I touched at the *Brasils*, from whence I sent a bark, which I bought there, with more people, to the island; and in it, besides other supplies, I sent seven women, being such as I found proper for service, or for wives to such as would take them. As to the *Englishmen*, I promised them to send them ~~some women from England with a good cargo of necessaries if~~



**THE FARTHER ADVENTURES  
OF  
ROBINSON CRUSOE.**





## Preface.

**D**THE success the former part of this Work has met with in the world, has yet been no other than is acknowledged to be due to the surprising variety of the subject, and to the agreeable manner of the performance.

All the endeavours of envious people to reproach it with being a romance, to search it for errors in geography, inconsistency in the relation, and contradictions in the fact, have proved abortive, and as impotent as malicious.

The just application of every incident, the religious and useful inferences drawn from every part, are so many testimonies to the good design of making it public, and must legitimate all the part that may be called invention or parable in the story.

The Second Part, if the Editor's opinion may pass, is contrary to the usage of Second Parts) every way as en-

tertaining as the First, contains as strange and surprising incidents, and as great a variety of them; nor is the application less serious or suitable; and doubtless will, to the sober, as well as the ingenious Reader, be every way as profitable, and diverting; and this makes the abridging this Work as scandalous as it is knavish and ridiculous. Seeing, while to shorten the Book, that they may seem to reduce the value, they strip it of all those reflections, as well religious as moral, which are not only the greatest beauties of the Work, but are calculated for the infinite advantage of the Reader.

By this they leave the Work naked of its brightest ornaments; and if they would, at the same time pretend, that the Author has supplied the story out of his invention, they take from it the improvement which alone recommends that invention to wise and good men.

The injury these men do the Proprietor of this Work, is a practice all honest men abhor; and he believes he may challenge them to shew the difference between that and robbing on the highway, or breaking open a house.

If they cannot shew any difference in the crime, they will find it hard to shew why there should be any difference in the punishment: and he will answer for it, that nothing shall be wanting on his part to do them justice.



## THE FARTHER ADVENTURES OF Robinson Crusoe.

**H**AT homely proverb used on so many occasions in England, *viz.* That what is bred in the bone will not go out of the flesh, was never more verified than in the story of my LIFE. Any one would think that after thirty-five years' affliction, and a variety of unhappy circumstances, which few men, if any, ever went through before, and after near seven years of peace and enjoyment in the fulness of all things; grown old, and when, *if ever*, it might be allowed me to have had experience of every state of middle life, and to know which was most adapted to make a man completely happy; I say, after all this, any one would have thought that the native propensity to rambling, which I gave an account of in my first setting out into the world to have been so predominant in my thoughts, should be worn out, the volatile part be fully evacuated, or at least condensed, and I might at sixty-one years of age have been a little inclined to stay at home, and have done venturing life and fortune any more.

Nay farther, the common motive of foreign adventures was taken away in me; for I had no fortune to make, I had nothing

to seek: if I had gained ten thousand pound, I had been no richer; for I had already sufficient for me, and for those I had to leave it to; and that I had was visibly increasing; for having no great family, I could not spend the income of what I had, unless I would set up for an expensive way of living, such as a great family, servants, equipage, gaiety, and *the like*, which were things I had no notion of, or inclination to; so that I had nothing indeed to do but to sit still, and fully enjoy what I had got, and see it increase daily upon my hands.

Yet all these things had no effect upon me, or at least not enough to resist the strong inclination I had to go abroad again, which hung about me like a chonical distemper; particularly the desire of seeing my new plantation in the island, and the colony I left there, run in my head continually. I dreamed of it all night, and my imagination run upon it all day; it was uppermost in all my thoughts, and my fancy worked so steadily and strongly upon it, that I talked of it in my sleep; in short, no-

after they are dead, or whether there is any thing in the stories they tell us of that kind, more than the product of vapours, sick minds, and wandering fancies. But this I know, that my imagination worked up to such a height, and brought me into such ecstasies of vapours, or what else I may call it, that I actually supposed myself oftentimes upon the spot, at my old castle behind the trees, saw my old *Spaniard*, *Friday's* father, and the reprobate sailors whom I left upon the island ; nay, I fancied I talked with them, and looked at them so steadily, though I was broad awake, as at persons just before me ; and this I did till I often frightened myself with the images my fancy represented to me : one time in my sleep I had the villainy of the three pirate sailors so lively related to me by the first *Spaniard* and *Friday's* father, that it was surprising ; they told me how they barbarously attempted to murder all the *Spaniards*, and that they set fire to the provisions they had laid up, on purpose to distress and starve them, things that I had never heard of, and that indeed were never all of them true in fact : but it was so warm in my imagination, and so realised to me, that to the hour I saw them, I could not be persuaded but that it was or would be true ; also how I resented it when the *Spaniard* complained to me, and how I brought them to justice, tried them before me, and ordered them all three to be hanged : what there was really in this, shall be seen in its place ; for however I came to form such things in my dream, and what secret converse of spirits injected it, yet there was very much of it true. I say, I own, that this dream had nothing literally and specifically true ; but the general part was so true, the base and villainous behaviour of these three hardened rogues was such, and had been so much worse than all I can describe, that the dream had too much similitude of the fact ; and as I would afterwards have punished them severely, so if I had hanged them all, I had been much in the right, and should have been justifiable both by the laws of God and man.

*But to return to my story. In this kind of temper I had*

lived some years ; I had no enjoyment of my life, no pleasant hours, no agreeable diversion but what had something or other of this in it, so that my wife, who saw my mind so wholly bent upon it, told me very seriously one night, that she believed there was some secret powerful impulse of Providence upon me, which had determined me to go thither again ; and that she found nothing hindered my going but my being engaged to a wife and children. She told me, that it was true she could not think of parting with me ; but as she was assured, that if she was dead it would be the first thing I would do ; so, as it seemed to her that the thing was determined above, she would not be the only obstruction : for if I thought fit, and resolved to go,—here she found me very intent upon her words, and that I looked very earnestly at her ; so that it a little disordered her, and she stopped. I asked her why she did not go on, and say out what she was going to say ? But I perceived her heart was too full, and some tears stood in her eyes. Speak out my dear said I

With those thoughts, I considered my new engagement ; that I had a wife, one child born, and my wife then great with child of another ; that I had al. the world could give me, and had no need to seek hazards for gain : that I was declining in years, and ought to think rather of leaving what I had gained than of seeking to increase it ; that as to what my wife had said, of its being an impulse from Heaven, and that it should be my duty to go, I had no notion of that ; so after many of these cogitations, I struggled with the power of my imagination, reasoned myself out of it, *as I believe people may always do in like cases, if they will* ; and, in a word, I conquered it ; composed myself with such arguments as occurred to my thoughts, and which my present condition furnished me plentifully with : and particularly, as the most effectual method, I resolved to divert myself with other things, and to engage in some business that might effectually tie me up from any more excursions of this kind ; for I found the thing return upon me chiefly when I was idle, had nothing to do, or any thing of moment immediately before me.

To this purpose I bought a little farm in the county of *Bedford*, and resolved to remove myself thither. I had a little convenient house upon it, and the land about it I found was capable of great improvement, and that it was many ways suited to my inclination, which delighted in cultivating, managing, planting, and improving of land ; and particularly, being an inland country, I was removed from conversing among ships, sailors, and things relating to the remote part of the world.

In a word, I went down to my farm, settled my family, bought me ploughs, harrows, a cart, waggon, horses, cows, sheep ; and setting seriously to work, became in one half year, a mere country gentleman ; my thoughts were entirely taken up in managing my servants, cultivating the ground, enclosing, planting, &c. and I lived, as I thought, the most agreeable life that nature was capable of directing, or that a man always bred to misfortunes was capable of being retreated to.

I farmed upon my own land, I had no rent to pay, was limited by no articles, I could pull up or cut down as I pleased: what I planted was for myself, and what I improved, was for my family; and having thus left off the thoughts of wandering, I had not the least discomfort in any part of my life, as to this world. Now I thought indeed, that I enjoyed the middle state of life that my father so early recommended to me, a kind of heavenly life, something like what is described by the poet upon the subject of a country life.

*Free from vices, free from care,  
Age has no pain, and youth no snare.*

But in the middle of all this felicity, one blow from unforeseen Providence unhinged me at once; and not only made a breach upon me, inevitable and incurable, but drove me, by its consequence, into a deep relapse into the wandering disposition; which as I may say, being born in my very blood, soon re-

I was as much a stranger in it, in my thoughts, as I was in the *Brasils* when I went first on shore there; and as much alone, except as to the assistance of servants, as I was in my island. I knew neither what to do, or what not to do. I saw the world busy round me, one part labouring for bread, and the other part squandering in vile excesses or empty pleasures, equally miserable, because the end they proposed still fled from them, for the man of pleasure every day surfeited of his vice, and heaped up work for sorrow and repentance; and the men of labour spent their strength in daily strugglings for bread to maintain the vital strength they laboured with; so living in a daily circulation of sorrow, living but to work, and working but to live, as if daily bread were the only end of wearisome life, and a wearisome life the only occasion of daily bread.

This put me in mind of the life I lived in my kingdom, the island; where I suffered no more corn to grow, because I did not want it; and bred no more goats, because I had no more use for them: where the money lay in the drawer till it grew mouldy, and had scarce the favour to be looked upon in twenty years.

All these things, had I improved them as I ought to have done, and as reason and religion had dictated to me, would have taught me to search farther than human enjoyments for a full felicity, and that there was something which certainly was the reason and end of life, superior to all these things, and which was either to be possessed, or at least hoped for, on this side the grave.

But my sage counsellor was gone: I was like a ship without a pilot, that could only run before the wind; my thoughts run all away again into the old affair, my head quite was turned with the whimsies of foreign adventures; and all the pleasant innocent amusements of my farm and my garden, my cattle, and my family, which before entirely possest me, were nothing to me, had no relish, and were like music to one that has no ear, or foul to one that has no taste. In a word, I resolved to leave off

house-keeping, let my farm, and return to *London* : and in a few months after I did so.

When I came to *London*, I was still as uneasy as I was before ; I had no relish to the place, no employment in it, nothing to do but to saunter about like an idle person, of whom it may be said, he is perfectly useless in GOD's creation, and it is not one farthing matter to the rest of his kind, whether he be dead or alive. This also was the life which of all circumstances of life was the most my aversion, who had been all my days used to an active life ; and I would often say to myself *A state of idleness is the very dregs of life* ; and indeed I thought I was much more suitably employed, when I was twenty six days a making me a deal board.

It was now the beginning of the year 1693, when my nephew, who, as I have observed before, I had brought up to the sea, and had made him commander of a ship, was come home from a short voyage to *Ribeira*, being the first he had made : he came

old sea captain ; and so, if it was rational and practicable, I would go and see the island again, and see what was become of my people there. I had pleased myself with the thoughts of peopling the place, and carrying inhabitants from hence, getting a patent for the possession, and I know not what ; when in the middle of all this, in comes my nephew, as I have said, with his project of carrying me thither, in his way to the *East Indies*.

I paused a while at his words, and looking steadily at him, *What devil, said I, sent you of this unlucky errand?* My nephew stared, as if he had been frightened at first ; but perceiving I was not much displeased with the proposal, he recovered himself. *I hope it may not be an unlucky proposal, Sir, says he ; I dare say you would be pleased to see your new colony there, where you once reigned with more felicity than most of your brother monarchs in the world.*

In a word, the scheme hit so exactly with my temper, that is to say, the prepossession I was under, and of which I have said so much, that I told him, in few words, if he agreed with the merchants, I would go with him : but I told him, I would not promise to go any further than my own island. *Why, Sir, says he, you don't want to be left there again, I hope ? Why, said I, can you not take me up again on your return ?* He told me it could not be possible that the merchants would allow him to come that way with a loaden ship of such value, it being a month's sail out of his way, and might be three or four. *Besides, Sir, if I should miscarry, said he, and not return at all, then you would be just reduced to the condition you were in before.*

This was very rational ; but we both found out a remedy for it, which was to carry a framed sloop on board the ship, which, being taken in pieces and shipped on board the ship, might, by the help of some carpenters, whom we agreed to carry with us, be set up again in the island ; and finished, fit to go to sea, in a few days.

I was not long resolving; for indeed the importunities of my nephew joined in so effectually with my inclination, that nothing could oppose me: on the other hand, my wife being dead, I had nobody concerned themselves so much for me, as to persuade me one way or other, except my ancient good friend the widow, who earnestly struggled with me to consider my years, my easy circumstances, and the needless hazard of a long voyage; and, above all, my young children: but it was all to no purpose; I had an irresistible desire to the voyage; and I told her I thought there was something so uncommon in the impressions I had upon my mind for the voyage, that it would be a kind of resisting Providence, if I should attempt to stay at home; after which she ceased her expostulations, and joined with me, not only in making provision for my voyage, but also in settling my family affairs in my absence, and providing for the education of my children.

In order to this, I made my will, and settled the estate I had

my own account, while I stayed, and either to leave them there, or carry them forward, as they should appear willing : particularly I carried two carpenters, a smith, and a very handy ingenious fellow who was a cooper by trade, but was also a general mechanic ; for he was dexterous at making wheels, and hand-mills to grind corn, was a good turner, and a good pot-maker ; he also made any thing that was proper to make of earth, or of wood ; in a word, we called him our *Jack of all trades*.

With these I carried a tailor, who had offered himself to go passenger to the *East Indies* with my nephew, but afterwards consented to stay on our new plantation, and proved a most necessary handy fellow as could be desired, in many other businesses besides that of this trade ; for, as I observed formerly, necessity arms us for all employments.

My cargo, as near as I can collect, for I have not kept an account of the particulars, consisted of a sufficient quantity of linen, and some thin *English* stuff's for clothing the *Spaniards*, that I expected to find there, and enough of them as by my calculation might comfortably supply them for seven years ; if I remember right, the materials which I carried for clothing them, with gloves, hats, shoes, stockings, and all such things as they could want for wearing, amounted to above 200 pounds, including some beds, bedding, and household-stuff, particularly kitchen utensils, with pots, kettles, pewter, brass, &c. and near a hundred pound more in iron-work, nails, tools of every kind, staples, hooks, hinges, and every necessary thing I could think of.

I carried also a hundred spare arms, muskets, and fuses, besides some pistols, a considerable quantity of shot of all sizes, and two pieces of brass cannon ; and because I knew not what time, and what extremities I was providing for, I carried a hundred barrels of powder, besides swords, cutlasses, and the iron part of some pikes and halberts ; so, that, in short, we had a large magazine of all sorts of stores ; and I made my nephew

carry two small quarter-deck guns more than he wanted for his ship, to leave behind, if there was occasion; that when they came there, we might build a fort, and man it against all sorts of enemies: and indeed, I at first thought there would be need enough of it all, and much more, if we hoped to maintain our possession of the island, as shall be seen in the course of the story.

I had not such bad luck in this voyage as I had been used to meet with; and therefore shall have the less occasion to interrupt the reader, who perhaps may be impatient to hear how matters went with my colony; yet some odd accidents, cross winds, and bad weather happened, on this first setting out, which made the voyage longer than I expected it at first; and I, who had never made but one voyage, (*viz.*) *my first voyage to Guinea*, in which I might be said to come back again, as the voyage was at first designed, began to think the same ill fate still attended me; and that I was born to be never contented with being on

This made us all run out upon the quarter-deck, where for a while we heard nothing, but in a few minutes we saw a very great light, and found that there was some very terrible fire at a distance ; immediately we had recourse to our reckonings, in which we all agreed that there could be no land that way, in which the fire shewed itself, no not for 500 leagues, for it appeared at W. N. W. Upon this we concluded it must be some ship on fire at sea ; and as by our hearing the noise of guns just before, we concluded it could not be far off, we stood directly towards it, and were presently satisfied we should discover it, because the farther we sailed, the greater the light appeared, though the weather being hazy we could not perceive any thing but the light for a while ; in about half an hour's sailing, the wind being fair for us, though not much of it, and the weather clearing up a little, we could plainly discern that it was a great ship on fire in the middle of the sea.

I was most sensibly touched with this disaster, though not at all acquainted with the persons engaged in it ; I presently recollect my former circumstances, in what condition I was in when taken up by the *Portugal* captain ; and how much more deplorable the circumstances of the poor creatures belonging to this ship must be if they had no other ship in company with them : upon this I immediately ordered, that five guns should be fired, one soon after another, that, if possible, we might give notice to them that there was help for them at hand, and that they might endeavour to save themselves in their boat ; for though we could see the flame of the ship, yet they, it being night, could see nothing of us.

We lay by some time upon this, only driving as the burning ship drove, waiting for day-light ; when on a sudden, to our great terror, though we had reason to expect it, the ship blew up in the air, and immediately, that is to say, in a few minutes, all the fire was out, and the rest of the ship sunk ; this was a terri-

ble, and indeed an afflicting sight, for the sake of the poor men, who, I concluded, must be either all destroyed in the ship, or be in the utmost distress in their boat in the middle of the ocean, which at present, by reason it was dark, I could not see: however, to direct them as well as I could, I caused lights to be hung out in all the parts of the ship where we could, and which we had lanthorns for; and kept firing guns all the night long; letting them know by this, that there was a ship not far off.

About eight o'clock in the morning, we discovered the ship's boats, by the help of our perspective glasses; found there were two of them, both thronged with people, and deep in the water; we perceived they rowed, the wind being against them; that they saw our ship, and did their utmost to make us see them.

We immediately spread our ancient, to let them know we saw them; and hung a waft out, as a signal for them to come on board; and then made more sail, standing directly to them. In a little more than half an hour, we came up with them, and, in

of no great service to them, other than to get some fresh water and provisions into her, after they had secured their lives from the fire. They had indeed small hope of their lives by getting into these boats at that distance from any land ; only, as they said well, that they were escaped from the fire, and had a possibility, that some ship might happen to be at sea, and might take them in. They had sails, oars, and a compass, and were preparing to make the best of their way back to Newfoundland, the wind blowing pretty fair ; for it blew an easy gale at S. E. by E. They had as much provisions and water, as, with sparing it so as to be next door to starving, might support them about twelve days ; in which, if they had no bad weather, and no contrary winds, the captain said, he hoped he might get the banks of Newfoundland, and might perhaps take some fish to sustain them till they might go on shore. But there were so many chances against them in all these cases ; such as storms to overset and founder them ; rains and cold to benumb and perish their limbs ; contrary winds to keep them out and starve them ; that it must have been next to miraculous if they had escaped.

In the midst of their consultations, every one being hopeless, and ready to despair, the captain with tears in his eyes told me, they were on a sudden surprised with the joy of hearing a gun fire, and after that four more ; these were the five guns which I caused to be fired at first seeing the light : this revived their hearts, and gave them the notice, which, as above, I desired it should, *viz.* that there was a ship at hand for their help.

It was upon the hearing these guns, that they took down their masts and sails ; the sound coming from the windward, they resolved to lie by till morning. Some time after this, hearing no more guns, they fired three musquets, one a considerable while after another ; but these, the wind being contrary, we never heard.

Some time after that again, they were still more agreeably sur-

prised with seeing our lights, and hearing the guns, which, as I have said, I caused to be fired all the rest of the night: this set them to work with their oars to keep their boats a-head, at least that we might the sooner come up with them; and at last, to their inexpressible joy, they found we saw them.

It is impossible for me to express the several gestures, the strange ecstasies, the variety of postures, which these poor delivered people run into, to express the joy of their souls at so unexpected a deliverance. Grief and fear are easily described; sighs, tears, groans, and a very few motions of the head and hands, make up the sum of its variety; but an excess of joy, a surprise of joy, has a thousand extravagances in it; there were some in tears, some raging and tearing themselves, as if they had been in the greatest agonies of sorrow; some stark raving and downright lunatic; some ran about the ship stamping with their feet, others wringing their hands; some were dancing, some singing, some laughing, more crying; many quite dumb, not

the master, and his two companions, whom I delivered from the villains that set them on shore in the island, came a little way towards it ; but nothing was to compare to this, either that I saw in *Friday*, or any where else in my life.

It is further observable, that these extravagances did not shew themselves in that different manner I have mentioned, in different persons only : but all the variety would appear in a short succession of moments, in one and the same person. A man that we saw this minute dumb, and, as it were, stupid and confounded, should the next minute be dancing and hallooing like an antic ; and the next moment be tearing his hair, or pulling his clothes to pieces, and stamping them under his feet like a madman ; a few moments after that, we should have him all in tears, then sick, then swooning ; and had not immediate help been had, would in a few moments more have been dead ; and thus it was, not with one or two, or ten or twenty, but with the greatest part of them ; and, if I remember right, our surgeon was obliged to let above thirty of them blood.

There were two priests among them, one an old man, and the other a young man ; and that which was strangest was, that the oldest man was the worst.

As soon as he set his foot on board our ship, and saw himself safe, he dropped down stone-dead, to all appearance ; not the least sign of life could be perceived in him ; our surgeon immediately applied proper remedies to recover him ; and was the only man in the ship that believed he was not dead : and at length he opened a vein in his arm, having first chafed and rubbed the part, so as to warm it as much as possible : upon this the blood, which only dropped at first, flowed something freely ; in three minutes after, the man opened his eyes ; and about a quarter of an hour after that, he spoke, grew better, and quite well ; after the blood was stopped, he walked about, told us he was perfectly well, took a dram of cordial which the surgeon gave him, and

was what we call come to himself ; about a quarter of an hour after, they came running into the cabin to the surgeon, who was bleeding a *French* woman that had fainted ; and told him, the priest was gone stark mad. It seems he had begun to revolve the change of his circumstance, and again this put him into an ecstasy of joy ; his spirits whirled about faster than the vessels could convey them ; the blood grew hot and feverish ; and the man was as fit for *Bedlam* as any creature that ever was in it ; the surgeon would not bleed him again in that condition, but gave him something to doze and put him to sleep, which, after some time, operated upon him, and he waked the next morning perfectly composed and well.

The younger priest behaved with great command of his passions, and was really an example of a serious well-governed mind ; at his first coming on board the ship, he threw himself flat on his face, prostrating himself in thankfulness for his deliverance ; in which I unhappily and unseasonably disturbed him, really

After this the young priest applied himself to his country folks ; laboured to compose them ; persuaded, entreated, argued, reasoned with them, and did his utmost to keep them within the exercise of their reason ; and with some he had success, though others were, for a time, out of all government of themselves.

I cannot help committing this to writing, as perhaps it may be useful to those into whose hands it may fall, for the guiding themselves in all the extravagances of their passions ; for if an excess of joy can carry men out to such a length beyond the reach of their reason, what will not the extravagances of anger, rage, and a provoked mind, carry us to ? And indeed, here I saw reason for keeping an exceeding watch over our passions of every kind, as well those of joy and satisfaction, as those of sorrow and anger.

We were something disordered by these extravagances among our new guests for the first day ; but when they had been retired, lodgings provided for them as well as our ship would allow, and they had slept heartily, as most of them did, they were quite another sort of people the next day.

Nothing of good manners, or civil acknowledgments for the kindness shewn them, was wanting ; the French, it is known, are naturally apt enough to exceed that way. The captain, and one of the priests, came to me the next day ; and desiring to speak with me and my nephew, the commander, began to consult with us what should be done with them ; and first they told us, that, as we had saved their lives, so all we had was little enough for a return to us for that kindness received. The captain said, they had saved some money and some things of value in their boats, catched hastily up out of the flames ; and if we would accept it, they were ordered to make an offer of it all to us ; they only desired to be set on shore somewhere in our way, where, if possible, they might get passage to France.

My nephew was for accepting their money at first word, and

to consider what to do with them afterwards ; but I over-ruled him in that part ; for I knew what it was to be set on shore in a strange country ; and if the *Portugal* captain that took me up at sea had served me so, and took all I had for my deliverance, I must have starved, or have been as much a slave at the *Brasil*, as I had been in *Barbary*, the being sold to a *Mahometan* excepted ; and perhaps a *Portuguese* is not much a better master than a *Turk*, if not, in some cases, a much worse.

I therefore told the *French* captain, that we had taken them up in their distress, it was true ; but that it was our duty to do so, as we were fellow-creatures, and as we would desire to be so delivered, if we were in the like or any other extremity ; that we had done nothing for them, but what we believed they would have done for us if we had been in their case, and they in ours ; but that we took them up to save them, not to plunder them ; and it would be a most barbarous thing to take that little from them which they had saved out of the fire, and then set them on

could not but be very thankful for it : but they were in very great consternation, especially the passengers, at the notion of being carried away to the *East Indies* : and they then entreated me, that seeing I was driven so far to the westward before I met with them, I would at least keep on the same course to the banks of *Newfoundland*, where it was probable I might meet with some ship or sloop that they might hire to carry them back to *Canada*, from whence they came.

I thought this was but a reasonable request on their part ; and therefore I inclined to agree to it : for indeed I considered, that to carry this whole company to the *East Indies*, would not only be an intolerable severity upon the poor people, but would be ruining our whole voyage by devouring all our provisions ; so I thought it no breach of charter party, but what an unforeseen accident made absolutely necessary to us ; and in which no one could say we were to blame ; for the laws of God and nature would have forbid that we should refuse to take up two boats full of people in such a distressed condition ; and the nature of the thing, as well respecting ourselves as the poor people, obliged us to set them on shore somewhere or other for their deliverance ; so I consented that we would carry them to *Newfoundland*, if wind and weather would permit ; and if not, that I would carry them to *Martinico* in the *West Indies*.

The wind continued fresh easterly, but the weather pretty good : and as the winds had continued in the points between N. E. and S. E. a long time, we missed several opportunities of sending them to *France* ; for we met several ships bound to *Europe*, whereof two were *French*, from *St. Christopher's* ; but they had been so long beating up against the wind, that they durst take in no passengers for fear of wanting provisions for the voyage, as well for themselves as for those they should take in ; so we were obliged to go on. It was about a week after this, that we made the banks of *Newfoundland*, where, to shorten my

story, we put all our *French* people on board a bark, which they hired at sea there, to put them on shore, and afterwards to carry them to *France*, if they could get provision to victual themselves with : when, I say, all the *French* went on shore, I should remember, that the young priest I spoke of, hearing we were bound to the *East Indies*, desired to go the voyage with us, and to be set on shore on the coast of *Coromandel*, which I readily agreed to : for I wonderfully liked the man, and had very good reason, as will appear afterwards ; also four of the seamen entered themselves in our ship, and proved very useful fellows.

From hence we directed our course for the *West Indies*, steering away S. and S. by E. for about twenty days together, sometimes little or no wind at all, when we met with another subject for our humanity to work upon, almost as deplorable as that before.

It was in the latitude of twenty-seven degrees five minutes N. and the 19th day of *March 1694-5*, when we spied a sail, our

as above ; they told us, they expected to have seen the *Bahama* islands, but were then driven away again to the south-east by a strong gale of wind at N. N. W. the same that blew now, and having no sails to work the ship with, but a main course, and a kind of square sail upon a jury fore mast, which they had set up, they could not lie near the wind, but were endeavouring to stand away for the *Canaries*.

But that which was worst of all, was, that they were almost starved for want of provisions, besides the fatigues they had undergone : their bread and flesh was quite gone, they had not an ounce left in the ship, and had had none for eleven days ; the only relief they had, was, their water was not all spent, and they had about half a barrel of flour left ; they had sugar enough ; some succades or sweet-meats they had at first, but they were devoured ; and they had seven casks of rum.

There was a youth and his mother, and a maid-servant, on board, who were going passengers, and thinking the ship was ready to sail, unhappily came on board the evening before the hurricane began ; and, having no provisions of their own left, they were in a more deplorable condition than the rest ; for the seamen being reduced to such an extreme necessity themselves, had no compassion, we may be sure, for the poor passengers ; and they were indeed in a condition that their misery is very hard to describe.

I had perhaps not known this part, if my curiosity had not led me, the weather being fair, and the wind abated, to go on board the ship : the second mate, who upon this occasion commanded the ship, had been on board our ship ; and he told me indeed, they had three passengers in the great cabin, that they were in a deplorable condition : nay, says he, I believe they are dead, for I have heard nothing of them for above two days : and was afraid to inquire after them, said he, for I had nothing to relieve them with.

We immediately applied ourselves to give them what relief we could spare ; and indeed I had so far over-ruled things with my nephew, that I would have victualled them, though we had gone away to *Virginia*, or any part of the coast of *America*, to have supplied ourselves ; but there was no necessity for that.

But now they were in a new danger ; for they were afraid of eating too much, even of that little we gave them : the mate or commander brought six men with him in his boat ; but these poor wretches looked like skeletons, and were so weak, they could hardly sit to their oars : the mate himself was very ill, and half-starved ; for he declared he had reserved nothing from the men, and went share and share alike with them in every bit they eat.

I cautioned him to eat sparingly, but set meat before him immediately, and he had not eaten three mouthfuls before he began to be sick, and out of order ; so he stopt awhile, and our surgeon mixed him up something with some broth, which he said would

maid servant, who he had heard nothing of for two or three days; and who he seemed to confess they had wholly neglected, their own extremities being so great; by which I understood, that they had really given them no food at all; and that therefore they must be perished, and be all lying dead perhaps on the floor or deck of the cabin.

As I therefore kept the mate, who we then called captain, on board with his men to refresh them, so I also forgot not the starving crew that were left on board, but ordered my own boat to go on board the ship, and with my mate and twelve men to carry them a sack of bread, and four or five pieces of beef to boil. Our surgeon charged the men to cause the meat to be boiled while they stayed, and to keep guard in the cook-room to prevent the men taking it to eat raw, or taking it out of the pot before it was well boiled, and then to give every man but a very little at a time; and by this caution he preserved the men, who would otherwise have killed themselves with that very food that was given them on purpose to save their lives.

At the same time, I ordered the mate to go into the great cabin, and see what condition the poor passengers were in, and, if they were alive, to comfort them and give them what refreshment was proper; and the surgeon gave him a large pitcher with some of the prepared broth which he had given the mate that was on board, and which he did not question would restore them gradually.

I was not satisfied with this; but as I said above, having a great mind to see the scene of misery which I knew the ship itself would present me with, in a more lively manner than I could have it by report, I took the captain of the ship, as we now called him, with me, and went myself a little after in their boat.

I found the poor men on board almost in a tumult to get the victuals out of the boiler before it was ready: but my mate

observed -his order, and kept a good guard at the cook-room door ; and the man he placed there, after using all possible persuasion to have patience, kept them off by force ; however, he caused some biscuit cakes to be dipped in the pot, and softened with the liquor of the meat, which they call brewis, and gave them every one one, to stay their stomachs, and told them it was for their own safety, that he was obliged to give them but a little at a time. But it was all in vain, and had I not come on board, and their own commander and officers with me, and with good words, and some threats also of giving them no more, I believe they would have broke into the cook-room by force, and tore the meat out of the furnace ; for words are indeed of very small force to a hungry belly : however we pacified them, and fed them gradually and cautiously for the first time, and the next time gave them more, and at last filled their bellies, and the men did well enough.

But the misery of the poor passengers in the cabin was of another nature, and far beyond the rest ; for as, first, the ship's company had so little for themselves, it was but too true, that they had at first kept them very low, and at last totally neglected them ; so that for six or seven days, it might be said, they had really had no food at all, and for several days before very little.

The poor mother, who, as the men reported, was a woman of good sense, and good breeding, had spared all she could get so affectionately for her son, that at last she entirely sunk under it : and when the mate of our ship went in, she sat upon the floor or deck, with her back up against the sides, between two chairs, which were lashed fast, and her head sunk in between her shoulders, like a corpse, though not quite dead. My mate said all he could to revive and encourage her, and with a spoon put some broth into her mouth : she opened her lips, and lifted up one hand, but could not speak : yet she understood what he said,

and made signs to him, intimating, that it was too late for her, but pointed to her child, as if she would have said, they should take care of him.

However the mate, who was exceedingly moved with the sight, endeavoured to get some of the broth into her mouth; and, as he said, got two or three spoonfuls down, though I question whether he could be sure of it or not: but it was too late, and she died the same night.

The youth, who was preserved at the price of his most affectionate mother's life, was not so far gone; yet he lay in a cabin-bed as one stretched out, with hardly any life left in him; he had a piece of an old glove in his mouth, having eaten up the rest of it; however, being young, and having more strength than his mother, the mate got something down his throat, and he began sensibly to revive, though, by giving him some time after but two or three spoonfuls extraordinary, he was very sick, and brought it up again.

But the next care was the poor maid: she lay all along upon the deck hard by her mistress, and just like one that had fallen down with an apoplexy, and struggled for life: her limbs were distorted, one of her hands was clasped round the frame of a chair, and she gripped it so hard that we could not easily make her let go; her other arm lay over her head, and her feet lay both together, set fast against the frame of the cabin table: in short, she lay just like one in the last agonies of death, and yet she was alive too.

The poor creature was not only starved with hunger, and terrified with the thoughts of death, but, as the men told us afterwards, was broken-hearted for her mistress, who she saw dying two or three days before, and who she loved most tenderly.

We knew not what to do with this poor girl; for when our surgeon, who was a man of very great knowledge and experience, and with great application recovered her as to life, he

had her upon his hand as to her senses, for she was little less than distracted for a considerable time after; as shall appear presently.

Whoever shall read these *memorandums*, must be desired to consider, that visits at sea are not like a journey into the country, where sometimes people stay a week or a fortnight at a place. Our business was to relieve this distressed ship's crew, but not to lie by for them; and though they were willing to steer the same course with us for some days, yet we could carry no sail to keep pace with a ship that had no masts: however, as their captain begged of us to help him to set up a main top-mast, and a kind of a top-mast to his jury fore-mast, we did, as it were, lie by him for three or four days; and then having given him five barrels of beef, a barrel of pork, two hogsheads of biscuit, and a proportion of peas, flour, and what other things we could spare; and taking three casks of sugar, some rum, and some pieces of eight of them for satisfaction, we left them, taking on board

is to say, starving in the world. He said he mattered not whither he went, if he was but delivered from the terrible crew he was among: that the captain (by which he meant me, for he could know nothing of my nephew) had saved his life, and he was sure would not hurt him; and as for the maid, he was sure, if she came to herself, she would be very thankful for it, let us carry them where we would. The surgeon represented the case so affectionately to me, that I yielded, and we took them both on board with all their goods, except eleven hogsheads of sugar, which could not be removed, or come at; and as the youth had a bill of lading for them, I made his commander sign a writing, obliging him to go, as soon as he came to *Bristol*, to one *Mr. Rogers*, a merchant there, to whom the youth said he was related, and to deliver a letter which I wrote to him, and all the goods he had belonging to the deceased widow: which I suppose was not done, for I could never learn that the ship came to *Bristol*; but was, as is most probable, lost at sea, being in so disabled a condition, and so far from any land, that I am of opinion, the first storm she met with afterwards, she might founder in the sea; for she was leaky, and had damage in her hold when we met with her.

I was now in the latitude of 19 deg. 32 min. and had hitherto had a tolerable voyage as to weather, though at first the winds had been contrary. I shall trouble nobody with the little incidents of wind, weather, currents, &c. on the rest of our voyage; but, shortening my story for the sake of what is to follow, shall observe, that I came to my old habitation, the island, on the 10th of April, 1695. It was with no small difficulty that I found the place; for as I came to it, and went from it before, on the south and east side of the island, as coming from the *Brasils*, so now coming in between the main and the island, and having no chart for the coast, nor any landmark, I did not know it when I saw it, or know whether I saw it or no.

We beat about a great while, and went on shore on several islands in the mouth of the great river *Oroonoque*, but none for my purpose; only this I learned by my coasting the shore, that I was under one great mistake before, *viz.* that the continent which I thought I saw from the island I lived in, was really no continent, but a long island, or rather a ridge of islands reaching from one to the other side of the extended mouth of that great river; and that the savages who came to my island, were not properly those which we call *Caribbees*, but islanders, and other barbarians of the same kind, who inhabited something nearer to our side than the rest.

In short, I visited several of these islands to no purpose; some I found were inhabited, and some were not. On one of them I found some *Spaniards*, and thought they had lived there; but speaking with them, found they had a sloop lay in a small creek hard by, and they came hither to make salt, and catch some pearl-muscles, if they could; but they belonged to the Isle

Here, or no? and what do you think, shall we see your father? The fellow stood mute as a stock a good while; but when I named his father, the poor affectionate creature looked dejected; and I could see the tears run down his face very plentifully. What is the matter, *Friday*, said I? are you troubled because you may see your father? No, no, says he, shaking his head, no see him more, no ever more see again. Why so, said I, *Friday*? how do you know that? O no, O no, says *Friday*, he long ago die; long ago, he much old man. Well, well, says I, *Friday*, you don't know; but shall we see any one else then? The fellow, it seems, had better eyes than I, and he points just to the hill above my old house; and though we lay half a league off, he cries out, We see! we see! yes, we see much man there, and there, and there. I looked, but I could see nobody, no, not with a perspective glass; which was, I suppose, because I could not hit the place; for the fellow was right, as I found upon inquiry the next day, and there were five or six men altogether stood to look at the ship, not knowing what to think of us.

As soon as *Friday* had told me he saw people, I caused the English ancient to be spread, and fired three guns, to give them notice we were friends; and about half a quarter of an hour after, we perceived a smoke rise from the side of the creek; so I immediately ordered a boat out, taking *Friday* with me; and, hanging out a white flag, or flag of truce, I went directly on shore, taking with me the young friar I mentioned, to whom I had told the whole story of my living there, and the manner of it, and every particular, both of myself, and those I left there; and who was on that account extremely desirous to go with me. We had besides about sixteen men very well armed, if we had found any new guest there which we did not know of: but we had no need of weapons.

As we went on shore upon the tide of flood, near high water, we rowed directly into the creek; and the first man I fixed my

ye upon, was the *Spaniard*, whose life I had saved, and who I knew by his face perfectly well ; as to his habit, I shall describe it afterwards. I ordered nobody to go on shore at first but myself ; but there was no keeping *Friday* in the boat : for the affectionate creature had spied his father at a distance, a good way off of the *Spaniards*, where indeed I saw nothing of him ; and if they had not let him go on shore, he would have jumped into the sea. He was no sooner on shore, but he flew away to his father like an arrow out of a bow. It would have made any man have shed tears, in spite of the firmest resolution, to have seen the first transports of this poor fellow's joy, when he came to his father ; how he embraced him, kissed him, stroked his face, took him up in his arms, set him down upon a tree, and lay down by him ; then stood and looked at him as any one would look at a strange picture, for a quarter of an hour together ; then lie down upon the ground, and stroke his legs and kiss them, and then get up again, and stare at him ; one would have

be endless to take notice of all the ceremonies and civilities that the *Spaniards* received me with. The first *Spaniard*, who, as I said, I knew very well, was he whose life I had saved : he came towards the boat, attended by one more, carrying a flag of truce also ; and he did not only not know me at first, but he had no thoughts, no notion, of its being me that was come, till I spoke to him. *Seignior*, said I in *Portuguese*, do you not know me ? at which he spoke not a word ; but giving his musquet to the man that was with him, threw his arms abroad, and saying something in *Spanish* that I did not perfectly hear, comes forward and embraced me, telling me, he was inexcusable not to know that face again that he had once seen, as of an angel from heaven sent to save his life : he said abundance of very handsome things, as a well bred *Spaniard* always knows how ; and then beckoning to the person that attended him, bade him go and call out his comrades. He then asked me if I would walk to my old habitation, where he would give me possession of my own house again, and where I should see there had been but mean improvements. So I walked along with him ; but, alas ! I could no more find the place again, than if I had never been there ; for they had planted so many trees, and placed them in such a posture, so thick and close to one another, in ten years time they were grown so big, that, *in short*, the place was inaccessible, except by such windings, and blind ways, as they themselves only who made them could find.

I asked them, what put them upon all these fortifications ? He told me, I would say there was need enough of it, when they had given me an account how they had passed their time since their arriving in the island, especially after they had the misfortune, to find that I was gone : he told me he could not but have some satisfaction in my good fortune, when he heard that I was gone away in a good ship, and to my satisfaction ; and that he had oftentimes a strong persuasion, that one time or other he should see me again ; but nothing that ever befel him in his life

he said, was so surprising and afflicting to him at first, as the disappointment he was under when he came back to the island, and found I was not there.

As to the three barbarians (so he called them) that were left behind, and of whom he said he had a long story to tell me; the Spaniards all thought themselves much better among the savages, only that their number was so small. And, says he, had they been strong enough, we had been all long ago in purgatory; and with that he crossed himself on the breast. But, Sir, says he, I hope you will not be displeased, when I shall tell you how, forced by necessity, we were obliged, for our own preservation, to disarm them, and make them our subjects, who would not be content with being moderately our masters, but would be our murderers. I answered, I was heartily afraid of it when I left them there; and nothing troubled me at my parting from the island, but that they were not come back, that I might have put them in possession of every thing first, and left the other in a state of









became them ; and in short, they had so much more manners than I, that I scarce knew how to receive their civilities, much less how to return them in kind.

The history of their coming to, and conduct in the island, after my going away, is so very remarkable, and has so many incidents, which the former part of my relation will help to understand, and which will, in most of the particulars, refer to that account I have already given, that I cannot but commit them with great delight to the reading of those that come after me.

I shall no longer trouble the story with a relation in the first person, which will put me to the expense of ten thousand *said I's*, and *said he's*, and *he told me's*, and *I told him's*, and the like ; but I shall collect the facts historically, as near as I can gather them out of my memory, from what they related to me, and from what I met with in my conversing with them, and with the place.

I order to do this succinctly, and as intelligibly as I can, I must go back to the circumstance in which I left the island, and which the persons were, of whom I am to speak. And first, it is necessary to repeat, that I had sent away *Friday's* father and the *Spaniard*, the two whose lives I had rescued from the savages ; I say, I had sent them away in a large canoe to the main, *as I then thought it*, to fetch over the *Spaniard's* companions, whom he had left behind him, in order to save them from the like calamity that he had been in, and in order to succour them for the present, and that, if possible, we might together find some way for our deliverance afterward.

When I sent them away, I had no visible appearance of, or the least room to hope for, my own deliverance, any more than I had twenty year before ; much less had I any foreknowledge of what afterward happened, I mean of an *English* ship coming on shore there to fetch me off ; and it could not but be a very great surprise to them, when they came back, not only to find

that I was gone, but to find three strangers left on the spot, possessed of all that I had left behind me, which would otherwise have been their own.

The first thing, however, which I enquired into (that I might begin where I left off), was of their own part: and I desired he would give me a particular account of his voyage back to his countrymen with the boat, when I sent him to fetch them over. He told me there was little variety in that part; for nothing remarkable happened to them on the way, they having very calm weather, and a smooth sea: for his countrymen, it could not be doubted, he said, but that they were overjoyed to see him (it seems he was the principal man among them, the captain of the vessel they had been shipwrecked in having been dead some time): they were, *he said*, the more surprised to see him, because they knew that he was fallen into the hands of savages, who, they were satisfied, would devour him as they did all the rest of their prisoners: that when he told them the story of the deliverance,

gage, neither clothes, or provisions, or any thing in the world, but what they had on them, and a few roots to eat, of which they used to make their bread.

They were in all three weeks absent, and in that time, unluckily for them, I had the occasion offered for my escape, as I mentioned in my other part, and to get off from the island; leaving three of the most impudent, hardened, ungoverned, disagreeable villains behind me, that any man could desire to meet with, to the poor *Spaniards*' great grief and disappointment, you may be sure.

The only just thing the rogues did, was, that when the *Spaniards* came on shore, they gave my letter to them, and gave them provisions, and other relief, as I had ordered them to do; also they gave them the long paper of directions, which I had left with them, containing the particular methods which I took for managing every part of my life there; the way how I baked my bread, bred up tame goats, and planted my corn; how I cured my grapes, made my pots, and, in a word, every thing I did: all this being written down, they gave to the *Spaniards*, two of whom understand *English* well enough; nor did they refuse to accommodate the *Spaniards* with every thing else, for they agreed very well for some time: they gave them an equal admission into the house, or cave, and they began to live very sociably; and the head *Spaniard*, who had seen pretty much of my method, and *Friday*'s father together, managed all their affairs: for, as for the *Englishmen* they did nothing but ramble about the island, shoot parrots, and catch tortoises, and when they came home at night, the *Spaniards* provided their suppers for them.

The *Spaniards* would have been satisfied with this, would the other but have let them alone; which, however, they could not find in their hearts to do long; but, like the dog in the manger, they would not eat themselves, and would not let others eat neither: the differences, nevertheless, were at first but trivial,

and such as are not worth relating ; but at last it broke out into open war, and it begun with all the rudeness and insolence that can be imagined, without reason, without provocation, contrary to nature, and indeed to common sense ; and though it is true, the first relation of it came from the *Spaniards* themselves, whom I may call the accusers, yet when I came to examine the fellows, they could not deny a word of it.

But before I come to the particular of this part, I must supply a defect in my former relation ; and this was, that I forgot to set down among the rest, that, just as we were weighing the anchor to set sail, there happened a little quarrel on board our ship, which I was afraid once would have turned to a second mutiny ; nor was it appeased till the captain, rousing up his courage, and taking us all to his assistance, parted them by force, and making two of the most refractory fellows prisoners, he laid them in irons ; and as they had been active in the former disorders, and let fall some ugly dangerous words the second time, he threatened

But this mutiny had brought us to an anchor for that night, the wind also falling calm ; next morning we found, that our two men who had been laid in irons, had stole each of them a musket, and some other weapons ; what powder or shot they had, we know not ; and had taken the ship's pinnace, which was not yet haled up, and ran away with her to their companions in *roguey* on the shore.

As soon as we found this, I ordered the long-boat on shore, with twelve men and the mate, and away they went to seek the *rogues* ; but they could neither find them, nor any of the rest ; for they all fled into the woods when they saw the boat coming on shore. The mate was once resolved, in justice to their *roguey*, to have destroyed their plantations, burnt all their household-stuff and furniture, and left them to shift without it ; but having no order, he let it all alone, lest every thing as they found it, and bringing the pinnace away, came on board without them.

These two men made their number five ; but the other three *villains* were so much wickeder than these, that after they had been two or three days together, they turned their two new-comers out of doors to shift for themselves, and wou'd have nothing to do with them ; nor could they for a good while be persuaded to give them any food : as for the *Spaniards*, they were not yet come.

When the *Spaniards* came first on shore, the business began to go forward ; the *Spaniards* would have persuaded the three *English* brutes to have taken in their two countrymen again, that, as they said, they might be all one family ; but they would not hear of it : so the two poor fellows lived by themselves ; and finding nothing but industry and application would make them live comfortably, they pitched their tents on the *north* shore of the island, but a little more to the *west*, to be out of the danger of the savages, who always landed on the *east* parts of the island.

Here they built them two huts, one to lodge in, and the other to lay up their magazines and stores in; and the *Spaniards* having given them some corn for seed, and especially some of the peas which I had left them, they dug and planted, and enclosed after the pattern I had set for them all, and began to live pretty well. Their first crop of corn was on the ground, and though it was but a little bit of land which they had dug up at first, having had but a little time, yet it was enough to relieve them, and find them with bread or other eatables; and one of the fellows, being the cook's mate of the ship, was very ready at making soup, puddings, and such other preparations, as the rice and the milk, and such little flesh as they got, furnished him to do.

They were going on in this little thriving posture, when the three unnatural rogues, their own countrymen too, in mere humour, and to insult them, came and bullied them, and told them the island was theirs: that the governor meaning me had

the fellow, thrust him away, and trod the fire out with his feet, and that not without some difficulty too.

The fellow was in such a rage at the honest man's thrusting him away, that he returned upon him with a pole he had in his hand ; and had not the man avoided the blow very nimbly, and run into the hut, he had ended his days at once. His comrade, seeing the danger they were both in, ran in after him, and immediately they came both out with their musquets ; and the man that was first struck at with the pole, knocked the fellow down, that had begun the quarrel, with the stock of his musquet, and that before the other two could come to help him ; and then seeing the rest come at them, they stood together, and presenting the other ends of their pieces to them, bade them stand off.

The other had fire arms with them too : but one of the two honest men bolder than his comrade, and made desperate by his danger, told them, if they offered to move hand or foot, they were dead men ; and boldly commanded them to lay down their arms. They did not indeed lay down their arms ; but, seeing him so resolute, it brought them to a parley, and they consented to take their wounded man with them, and be gone ; and indeed, it seems the fellow was wounded sufficiently with the blow ; however, they were much in the wrong, since they had the advantage, that they did not disarm them effectually, as they might have done, and have gone immediately to the *Spaniards*, and given them an account how the rogues had treated them ; for the three villains studied nothing but revenge, and every day gave them some intimation that they did so.

But not to crowd this part with an account of the lesser part of their rogueries, such as treading down their corn, shooting three young kids, and a she-goat which the poor men had got to breed up tame for their store ; and, in a word, plaguing them night and day in this manner, it forced the two men to such a desperation, that they resolved to fight them all three the first

time they had a fair opportunity. In order to this, they resolved to go to the castle, as they called it, that was my old dwelling, where the three rogues and the *Spaniards* all lived together at that time, intending to have a fair battle, and the *Spaniards* should stand by to see fair play. So they got up in the morning before day, and came to the place, and called the *Englishmen* by their names, telling a *Spaniard* that answered, that they wanted to speak with them.

It happened that the day before two of the *Spaniards*, having been in the woods, had seen one of the two *Englishmen*, whom, for distinction, I call the *honest men*; and he had made a sad complaint to the *Spaniards*, of the barbarous usage they had met with from their three countrymen, and how they had ruined their plantation, and destroyed their corn, that they had laboured so hard to bring forward, and killed the milch-goat, and their three kids, which was all they had provided for their sustenance; and that if he and his friends, meaning the *Spaniards*, did not assist

returned, Do! d—n them, they should be servants, and work for them. But how can you expect that of them? says the *Spaniard*, they are not bought with your money; you have no right to make them servants. The *Englishman* answered, the island was theirs, the governor had given it to them, and no man had any thing to do there but themselves; and with that swore by his Maker, that they would go and burn all their new huts; they should build none upon their land.

Why, Seignior, says the *Spaniard*, by the same rule, we must be your servants too. Ay, says the bold dog, and so you shall too, before we have done with you, mixing two or three G—d d—n-me's in the proper intervals of his speech. The *Spaniard* only smiled at that, and made him no answer. However, this little discourse had heated them; and starting up, one says to the other, I think it was he they called *Will Atkins*, Come, Jack, let us go and have the other brush with them; we will demolish their castle, I will warrant you; they shall plant no colony in our dominions.

Upon this they went all trooping away, with every man a gun, a pistol, and a sword, and muttered some insolent things among themselves, of what they would do to the *Spaniards* too, when opportunity offered; but the *Spaniards*, it seems, did not so perfectly understand them as to know all the particulars; only that, in general, they threatened them hard for taking the two *Englishmen's* part.

Whither they went, or how they bestowed their time that evening, the *Spaniards* said they did not know; but it seems they wandered about the country part of the night; and then lying down in the place which I used to call my bower, they were weary, and overslept themselves. The case was this: they had resolved to stay till midnight, and so to take the two poor men when they were asleep; and as they acknowledged afterwards, intended to set fire to their huts while they were in them,

and either burn them in them, or murder them as they came out: and, as malice seldom sleeps very sound, it was very strange they should not have been kept waking.

However, as the two men had also a design upon them, as I have said, though a much fairer one than that of burning and murdering, it happened, and very luckily, for them all, that they were up and gone abroad, before the bloody-minded rogues came to their huts.

When they came there and found the men gone, *Atkins*, who it seems was the forwardest man, called out to his comrades, *Ha! Jack*, here's the nest; but d—n them, the birds are flown: they mused awhile to think what should be the occasion of their being gone abroad so soon, and suggested presently, that the *Spaniards* had given them notice of it; and with that they shook hands, and swore to one another, that they would be revenged of the *Spaniards*. As soon as they had made this bloody bargain, they fell to work with the poor men's habitation; they did

But Providence took more care to keep them asunder than they themselves could do to meet: for as they had dogged one another, when the three were gone thither, the two were here; and afterwards, when the two went back to find them, the three were come to the old habitation again; we shall see their differing conduct presently. When the three came back, like furious creatures, flushed with the rage which the work they had been about put them into, they came up to the Spaniards, and told them what they had done, by way of scoff and bravado; and one of them stepping up to one of the Spaniards, as if they had been a couple of boys at play, takes hold of his hat, as it was upon his head, and giving it a twirl about, sneering in his face, says he to him, *And you, Seignior Jack Spaniard, shall have the same sauce, if you do not mend your manners.* The Spaniard, who, though a quiet civil man, was as brave as a man could desire to be, and withal a strong well-made man, looked steadily at him for a good while; and then, having no weapon in his hand, stept gravely up to him, and with one blow of his fist, knocked him down, as an ox is felled with a pole axe, at which one of the rogues, insolent as the first, fired his pistol at the Spaniard immediately: he missed his body indeed, for the bullets went through his hair, but one of them touched the tip of his ear, and he bled pretty much. The blood made the Spaniard believe he was more hurt than he really was, and that put him into some heat, for before he acted all in a perfect calm; but now resolving to go through with his work, he stooped and took the fellow's musket whom he had knocked down, and was just going to shoot the man who had fired at him; when the rest of the Spaniards, being in the cave, came out, and calling to him not to shoot, they stept in, secured the other two, and took their arms from them.

When they were thus disarmed, and found they had made all the Spaniards their enemies, as well as their own countrymen,

they began to cool ; and giving the *Spaniards* better words, would have had their arms again ; but the *Spaniards* considering the feud that was between them and the other two *Englishmen*, and that it would be the best method they could take to keep them from killing one another, told them they would do them no harm ; and if they would live peaceably they would be very willing to assist and associate with them, as they did before ; but that they could not think of giving them their arms again, while they appeared so resolved to do mischief with them to their own countrymen, and had even threatened them all to make them their servants.

The rogues were now more capable to hear reason than to act reason : but being refused their arms, they went raving away, and raging like madmen, threatening what they would do, though they had no fire-arms : but the *Spaniards*, despising their threatening, told them they should take care how they offered any injury to their plantation or cattle ; for if they did, they

But the *Spaniards* interposed here too, and told them, that as they had disarmed them: they could not consent that they (the two) should pursue them with fire-arms; and perhaps kill them: but, said the grave *Spaniard*, who was their governor, we will endeavour to make them do you justice, if you will leave it to us, for, as there is no doubt but they will come to us again when their passion is over, being not able to subsist without our assistance, we promise you to make no peace with them, without having a full satisfaction for you; and upon this condition we hope you will promise to use no violence with them, other than in your defence.

The two *Englishmen* yielded to this very awkwardly, and with great reluctance; but the *Spaniards* protested, they did it only to keep them from bloodshed, and to make all easy at last, for, said they, we are not so many of us; here is room enough for us all, and it is great pity we should not be all good friends. At length they did consent, and waited for the issue of the thing, living for some days with the *Spaniards*; for their own habitation was destroyed.

In about five days time the three vagrants, tired with wandering, and almost starved with hunger, having chiefly lived on turtles eggs all that while, came back to the grove; and finding my *Spaniard*, who, as I have said, was the governor, and two more with him, walking by the side of the creek, they came up in a very submissive humble manner, and begged to be received again into the family. The *Spaniards* used them civilly, but told them, they had acted so unnaturally by their countrymen, and so very grossly by them (the *Spaniards*), that they could not come to any conclusion without consulting the two *Englishmen*, and the rest; but however they would go to them, and discourse about it, and they should know in half an hour. It may be guessed that they were very hard put to it; for it seems, as they were to wait this half-hour for an answer, they begged

he would send them out some bread in the mean time ; which he did, and sent them at the same time a large piece of goat's flesh, and a boiled parrot ; which they eat very heartily, for they were hungry enough.

After half an hour's consultation they were called in, and a long debate had among them, their two countrymen charging them with the ruin of all their labour, and a design to murder them ; all which they owned before, and therefore could not deny now ; upon the whole, the *Spaniard* acted the moderator between them ; and as they had obliged the two *Englishmen* not to hurt the three, while they were naked and unarmed, so they now obliged the three to go and build their fellows two huts, one to be of the same, and the other of larger dimensions than they were before ; to fence their ground again, where they had pulled up the fences, plant trees in the room of those pulled up, dig up the land again for planting corn, where they had spoiled it ; and, in a word to restore every thing in the same state as they found

abroad, but the ungrateful creatures began to be as insolent and troublesome as before: but, however, an accident happened presently upon this, which endangered the safety of them all; they were obliged to lay by all private resentments, and look to the preservation of their lives.

It happened one night, that the *Spaniard* governor, as I call him, that is to say, the *Spaniard* whose life I had saved, who was now the captain, or leader, or governor of the rest, found himself very uneasy in the night, and could by no means get any sleep: he was perfectly well in body, as he told me the story, only found his thoughts tumultuous; his mind ran upon men fighting and killing of one another, but was broad awake, and could not by any means get any sleep; in short, he lay a great while; but growing more and more uneasy, he resolved to rise: as they lay, being so many of them, upon goat-skins, laid thick upon such couches and pads as they made for themselves, not in hammocks and ship beds, as I did, who was but one, so they had little to do, when they were willing to rise, but to get up upon their feet, and perhaps put on a coat, such as it was, and their pumps, and they were ready for going any way that their thoughts guided them.

Being thus gotten up, he looked out; but, being dark, he could see little or nothing; and besides, the trees which I had planted, as in my former account is described, and which were now grown tall, intercepted his sight, so that he could only look up, and see that it was a clear star-light night; and, hearing no noise, he returned and laid him down again; but it was all one, he could not sleep, nor could he compose himself to any thing like rest, but his thoughts were to the last degree uneasy, and yet he knew not for what.

Having made some noise with rising and walking about, going out and coming in, another of them waked, and, calling, asked who it was that was up? The governor told him, how it

had been with him. Say you so, says the other *Spaniard*; such things are not to be slighted, I assure you; there is certainly some mischief working, says he, near us; and presently he asked him, Where are the *Englishmen*? They are all in their huts, says he, safe enough. It seems the *Spaniards* had kept possession of the main apartment, and had made a place, where the three *Englishmen*, since their last mutiny, always quartered by themselves, and could not come at the rest. Well, says the *Spaniard*, there is something in it, I am persuaded from my own experience; I am satisfied our spirits embodied have a converse with, and receive intelligence from, the spirits unembodied, and inhabiting the invisible world; and this friendly notice is given for our advantage, if we know how to make use of it. Come, says he, let us go out and look abroad; and if we find nothing at all in it to justify our trouble, I will tell you a story to the purpose, that shall convince you of the justice of my proposing it.

of whom I mentioned that I was afraid they should go home, and bring more help.

Whether it was the consequence of the escape of those men, that so great a number came now together; or whether they came ignorantly, and by accident, on their usual bloody errand, they could not it seems understand; but whatever it was, it had been their business, either to have concealed themselves, and not have seen them at all; much less to have let the savages have seen that there were any inhabitants in the place; or to have fallen upon them so effectually, as that not a man of them should have escaped, which could only have been by getting in between them and their boats; but this presence of mind was wanting to them, which was the ruin of their tranquillity for a great while.

We need not doubt but that the governor, and the man with him, surprised with this sight, ran back immediately, and raised their fellows, giving them an account of the imminent danger they were all in; and they again as readily took the alarm, but it was impossible to persuade them to stay close within where they were, but that they must run all out to see how things stood.

While it was dark indeed, they were well enough, and they had opportunity enough, for some hours, to view them by the light of three fires they had made at some distance from one another; what they were doing they knew not, and what to do themselves they knew not; for, first, the enemy were too many; and, secondly, they did not keep together, but were divided into several parties, and were on shore in several places.

The Spaniards were in no small consternation at this sight; and as they found that the fellows ran straggling all over the shore, they made no doubt, but, first or last, some of them would chop in upon their habitation, or upon some other place, where they would see the token of inhabitants; and they were in great perplexity also for fear of their flock of goats, which would have

been little less than starving them, if they should have been destroyed; so the first thing they resolved upon was to dispatch three men away before it was light, *viz.* two *Spaniards* and one *Englishman*, to drive all the goats away to the great valley where the cave was, and, if need were, to drive them into the very cave itself.

Could they have seen the savages altogether in one body, and at any distance from their canoes, they resolved, if they had been a hundred of them, to have attacked them; but that could not be obtained, for they were some of them two miles off from the other, and, as it appeared afterwards, were of two different nations.

After having mused a great while on the course they should take, and beaten their brains in considering their present circumstances, they resolved at last, while it was still dark, to send the old savage (*Friday's* father) out as a spy, to learn, if possible, something concerning them, what they came for, and what they intended to do; the old man readily undertook it, and, stripping

Friday's father used all the arguments he could to persuade our people to be close, and not be seen; he told them, their safety consisted in it, and that they had nothing to do but lie still, and the savages would kill one another to their hands, and then the rest would go away; and it was so to a tittle. But it was impossible to prevail, especially upon the *Englishmen*; their curiosity was so importunate upon their prudentials, that they must run out and see the battle; however, they used some caution too, *viz.* they did not go openly just by their own dwelling, but went farther into the woods, and placed themselves to advantage, where they might securely see them manage the fight, and, as they thought, not to be seen by them; but it seems the savages did see them, as we shall find hereafter.

The battle was very fierce, and if I might believe the *Englishmen*, one of them said he could perceive, that some of them were men of great bravery, of invincible spirits, and of great policy in guiding the fight. The battle, they said, held two hours, before they could guess which party would be beaten; but then that party which was nearest our people's habitation began to appear weakest, and after some time more, some of them began to fly; and this put our men again into a great consternation, lest any of those that fled should run into the grove, before their dwelling, for shelter, and thereby involuntarily discover the place; and that by consequence the pursuers should do the like in search for them. Upon this they resolved, that they would stand armed within the wall, and whoever came into the grove, they should sail out over the wall, and kill them; so that, if possible, not one should return to give an account of it; they ordered also, that it should be done with their swords, or by knocking them down with the stock of the musquet, but not by shooting them, for fear of raising an alarm by the noise.

As they expected, it fell out; three of the routed army fled for life, and crossing the creek, ran directly into the place, not in

the least knowing whither they went, but running as into a thick wood for shelter ; the scout they kept to look abroad gave notice of this within, with this addition to our men's great satisfaction, *viz.* That the conquerors had not pursued them, or seen which way they were gone. Upon this the *Spaniard* governor, a man of humanity, would not suffer them to kill the three fugitives ; but sending three men out by the top of the hill, ordered them to go round, and come in behind them, surprise and take them prisoners, which was done ; the residue of the conquered people fled to their canoes, and got off to sea ; the victors retired, made no pursuit, or very little ; but drawing themselves into a body together, gave two great screaming shouts, which they supposed were by way of triumph, and so the fight ended : and the same day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, they also marched to their canoes. And thus the *Spaniards* had their island again free to themselves, their fright was over, and they saw no savages in several years after.

This deliverance tamed our *Englishmen* for a great while: the sight had filled them with horror, and the consequences appeared terrible to the last degree, even to them, if ever they should fall into the hands of those creatures, who would not only kill them as enemies, but kill them for food, as we kill our cattle. And they professed to me, that the thoughts of being eaten up like beef or mutton, though it was supposed it was not to be till they were dead, had something in it so horrible, that it nauseated their very stomachs, made them sick when they thought of it, and filled their minds with such unusual terror, that they were not themselves for some weeks after.

This, as I said, tamed even the three *English* brutes I have been speaking of; and, for a great while after, they were very tractable, and went about the common business of their whole society well enough; planted, sowed, reaped, and began to be all naturalized to the country; but some time after this, they fell all into such measures which brought them into a great deal of trouble.

They had taken three prisoners, as I had observed; and these three being lusty stout young fellows, they made them servants, and taught them to work for them; and, as slaves, they did well enough; but they did not take their measures with them, as I did by my man *Friday*, viz. to begin with them upon the principle of having saved their lives, and then instruct them in the rational principles of life, much less of religion, civilizing and reducing them by kind usage, and affectionate arguings; but, as they gave them their food every day, so they gave them their work too, and kept them fully employed in drudgery enough; but they failed in this by it, that they never had them to assist them and fight for them, as I had my man *Friday*, who was as true to me as the very flesh upon my bones.

But to come to the family part. Being all now good friends (for common danger, as I said above, had effectually reconciled

them), they began to consider their general circumstances; and the first thing that came under their consideration was, whether, seeing the savages particularly haunted that side of the island, and that there were more remote and retired parts of it equally adapted to their way of living, and manifestly to their advantage, they should not rather remove their habitation, and plant in some more proper place for their security, and especially for the security of their cattle and corn.

Upon this, after long debate, it was concluded, that they would not remove their habitation; because that some time or other they thought they might hear from their governor again, meaning me: and if I should send any one to seek them, I should be sure to direct them on that side, where, if they should find the place demolished, they would conclude the savages had killed us all, and we were gone, and so our supply would go too.

But as to their corn and cattle, they agreed to remove them

their safety consisted entirely in their being concealed, of which they were now fully convinced, they set to work to cover and conceal the place yet more effectually than before: to this purpose, as I had planted trees (or rather thrust in stakes, which in time all grew up to be trees) for some good distance before the entrance into my apartment, they went on in the same manner, and filled up the rest of that whole space of ground, from the trees I had set, quite down to the side of the creek, where, as I said, I landed my floats, and even into the very ooze where the tide flowed, not so much as leaving any place to land, or any sign that there had been any landing thereabout: these stakes also, being of a wood very forward to grow, as I had noted formerly, they took care to have generally very much larger and taller than those which I had planted, and as they grew apace so they planted them so very thick and close together, that when they had been three or four years grown, there was no piercing with the eye any considerable way into the plantation: as for that part which I had planted, the trees were grown as thick as a man's thigh; and among them they placed so many other short ones, and so thick, that in a word it stood like a palisado a quarter of a mile thick, and it was next to impossible to penetrate it, but with a little army, to cut it all down; for a little dog could hardly get between the trees, they stood so close.

But this was not all; for they did the same by all the ground to the right hand, and to the left, and round even to the top of the hill; leaving no way, not so much as for themselves to come out, but by the ladder placed up to the side of the hill, and then lifted up, and placed again from the first stage up to the top: which ladder, when it was taken down, nothing but what had wings or witchcraft to assist it could come at them.

This was excellently well contrived: nor was it less than what they afterwards found occasion for; which served to convince me, that as human prudence has the authority of Providence to

justify it, so it has, doubtless, the direction of Providence to set to work ; and, would we listen carefully to the voice of it, I am fully persuaded we might prevent many of the disasters which our lives are now, by our own negligence, subjected to. But this by the way.

I return to the story : they lived two years after this in perfect retirement, and had no more visits from the savages : they had indeed an alarm given them one morning, which put them into a great consternation ; for some of the *Spaniards* being out early one morning on the west side, or rather the end of the island, which, by the way, was that end where I never went, for fear of being discovered, they were surprised with seeing above twenty canoes of *Indians* just coming on shore.

They made the best of their way home, in hurry enough ; and giving the alarm to their comrades, they kept close all that day and the next, going out only at night, to make observation : but they had the good luck to be mistaken ; for wherever

he intended to serve the savage ; which the *Spaniard* perceiving, avoided the blow, and with a shovel, which he had in his hand (for they all were working in the field about their corn land), knocked the brute down : another of the *Englishmen*, running at the same time to help his comrade, knocked the *Spaniard* down ; and then two *Spaniards* more came to help their man, and a third *Englishman* fell in upon them. They had none of them any fire-arms, or any other weapons but hatchets and other tools, except this third *Englishman* ; he had one of my old rusty cutlasses, with which he made at the two last *Spaniards*, and wounded them both : this fray set the whole family in an uproar, and more help coming in, they took the three *Englishmen* prisoners. The next question was, What should be done with them ? They had been so often mutinous, and were so furious, so desperate, and so idle withal, that they knew not what course to take with them, for they were mischievous to the highest degree, and valued not what hurt they did to any man ; so that, in short, it was not safe to live with them.

The *Spaniard*, who was governor, told them in so many words, that if they had been his own countrymen, he would have hanged them ; for all laws, and all governors, was to preserve society ; and those who were dangerous to the society ought to be expelled out of it ; but as they were *Englishmen*, and that it was to the generous kindness of an *Englishman* that they all owed their preservation and deliverance, he would use them with all possible lenity, and would leave them to the judgment of the other two *Englishmen*, who were their countrymen.

One of the two honest *Englishmen* stood up, and said, they desired it might not be left to them : for, says he, I am sure we ought to sentence them to the gallows ; and with that he gives an account how *Will Atkins*, one of the three, had proposed to have all the five *Englishmen* join together, and murder all the *Spaniards*, when they were in their sleep.

When the *Spanish* governor heard this, he calls to *William Atkins*. How, Seignior *Atkins*, says he, would you murder us all? What have you to say to that? That hardened villain was so far from denying it, that he said it was true, and G—d d—mn him they would do it still before they had done with them. Well, but Seignior *Atkins*, said the *Spaniard*, what have we done to you that you will kill us? And what would you get by killing us? And what must we do to prevent you killing us? Must we kill you, or you will kill us? Why will you put us to the necessity of this, Seignior *Atkins*? says the *Spaniard* very calmly, and smiling.

Seignior *Atkins* was in such a rage at the *Spaniard*'s making a jest of it, that, had he not been held by three men, and withal had no weapons near him, it was thought he would have attempted to have killed the *Spaniard* in the middle of all the company.

This hair-brained carriage obliged them to consider seriously

most apt to prevail, where they are so earnestly pressed, so they all came into it; but then it was to be considered, what should be done to keep them from doing the mischief they designed; for all agreed, governor and all, that means were to be used for preserving the society from danger. After a long debate it was agreed, first, that they should be disarmed, and not permitted to have either gun, or powder, or shot, or sword, or any weapon, and should be turned out of the society, and left to live where they would, and how they would, by themselves; but that none of the rest, either *Spaniards* or *English*, should converse with them, speak with them, or have any thing to do with them; that they should be forbid to come within a certain distance of the place where the rest dwelt; and that if they offered to commit any disorder, so as to spoil, burn, kill, or destroy any of the corn, plantings, buildings, fences, or cattle belonging to the society, that they should die without mercy, and they would shoot them wherever they could find them.

The governor, a man of great humanity, musing upon the sentence, considered a little upon it; and turning to the two honest *Englishmen*, said, Hold; you must reflect, that it will be long ere they can raise corn and cattle of their own, and they must not starve; we must therefore allow them provisions. So he caused to be added, that they should have a proportion of corn given them to last them eight months, and for seed to sow, by which time they might be supposed to raise some of their own; that they should have six milch-goats, four he-goats, and six kids, given them, as well for present subsistence, as for a store; and that they should have tools given them for their work in the field; such as, six hatchets, an axe, a saw, and the like. But they should have none of these tools or provisions, unless they would swear solemnly, that they would not hurt or injure any of the *Spaniards* with them, or their fellow *Englishmen*.

Thus they dismissed them the society, and turned them out to

shift for themselves. They went away sullen and refractory, as neither contented to go away or to stay; but as there was no remedy, they went, pretending to go and choose a place where they should settle themselves, to plant and live by themselves; and some provisions were given them, but no weapons.

About four or five days after, they came again for some victuals, and gave the governor an account where they had pitched their tents, and marked themselves out a habitation and plantation; and it was a very convenient place indeed, on the remotest part of the island, N. E. much about the place where I landed in my first voyage, when I was driven out to sea, the Lord knows whither, in my attempt to surround the island.

Here they built themselves two handsome huts, and contrived them in a manner like my first habitation, being close under the side of a hill, having some trees growing already to the three sides of it; so that by planting others, it would be very easily covered from the sight, unless narrowly searched for: they

help them, which they very readily did ; and in four days worked a great hole in the side of the hill for them, big enough to secure their corn and other things from the rain ; but it was but a poor place at best, compared to mine ; and especially as mine was then ; for the *Spaniards* had greatly enlarged it, and made several new apartments in it.

About three quarters of a year after this separation, a new frolic took these rogues, which together with the former villainy they had committed, brought mischief enough upon them, and had very near been the ruin of the whole colony : the three new associates began, it seems, to be weary of the laborious life they led, and that without hope of bettering their circumstances ; and a whim took them, that they would make a voyage to the continent from whence the savages came, and would try if they could not seize upon some prisoners among the natives there, and bring them home, so to make them do the laborious part of the work for them.

The project was not so preposterous, if they had gone no further ; but they did nothing, and proposed nothing, but had either mischief in the design, or mischief in the event : and, if I may give my opinion, they seemed to be under a blast from Heaven ; for if we will not allow a visible curse to pursue visible crimes, how shall we reconcile the events of things with the divine justice ? It was certainly an apparent vengeance on their crime of mutiny and piracy, that brought them to the state they were in ; and, as they shewed not the least remorse for the crime, but added new villainies to it, such as, particularly, the piece of monstrous cruelty of wounding a poor slave, because he did not, or perhaps could not, understand to do what he was directed ; and to wound him in such a manner, as no question made him a cripple all his life, and in a place where no surgeon or medicine could be had for his cure : and, what was still worse, the murderous intent ; or, to do justice to the crime, the inca-

tional murder, for such to be sure it was, as was afterwards the formed design they all laid, to murder the *Spaniards* in cold blood, and in their sleep.

But I leave observing, and return to the story: The three fellows comes down to the *Spaniards* one morning, and, in very humble terms, desired to be admitted to speak with them: the *Spaniards* very readily heard what they had to say, which was this: that they were tired of living in the manner they did; that they were not handy enough to make the necessaries they wanted; and that having no help, they found they should be starved; but if the *Spaniards* would give them leave to take one of the canoes which they came over in, and give them arms and ammunition, proportioned for their defence, they would go over to the main, and seek their fortune, and so deliver them from the trouble of supplying them with any other provisions.

The *Spaniards* were glad enough to be rid of them; but yet very honestly represented to them the certain destruction they were running into; told them, they had suffered such hardships upon that very spot, that they could, without any spirit of prophecy, tell them, that they would be starved or be murdered; and bade them consider of it.

The men replied audaciously, they should be starved if they stayed here, for they could not work, and would not work; and they could but be starved abroad; and if they were murdered, there was an end of them, they had no wives or children to cry after them; and, in short, insisted importunately upon their demand, declaring that they would go, whether they would give them any arms or no.

The *Spaniards* told them, with great kindness, that if they were resolved to go, they should not go like naked men, and be in no condition to defend themselves; and that though they could ill spare their fire-arms, having not enough for themselves,

yet they would let them have two musquets, a pistol, and a cutlass, and each man a hatchet, which they thought sufficient for them.

In a word, they accepted the offer ; and having baked them bread enough to serve them a month, and given them as much goat's flesh as they could eat while it was sweet, and a great basket full of dried grapes, a pot full of fresh water, and a young kid alive to kill, they boldly set out in a canoe for a voyage over the sea, where it was at least forty miles broad.

The boat was indeed a large one, and would have very well carried fifteen or twenty men ; and therefore was rather too big for them to manage : but as they had a fair breeze and the flood-tide with them, they did well enough : they had made a mast of a long pole, and a sail of four large goat-skins dried, which they had sewed or laced together ; and away they went merrily enough : the *Spaniards* called after them *Bon Voyage* ; and no man ever thought of seeing them any more.

The *Spaniards* would often say to one another, and the two honest *Englishmen* who remained behind, how quietly and comfortably they lived, now those three turbulent fellows were gone : as for their ever coming again, that was the remotest thing from their thoughts could be imagined ; when, behold, after twenty-two days absence, one of the *Englishmen* being abroad upon his planting-work, sees three strange men coming towards him at a distance, two of them with guns upon their shoulders.

Away run the *Englishman*, as if he was bewitched, comes frightened and amazed, to the governor *Spaniard*, and tells him they were all undone, for there were strangers landed upon the island, they could not tell who : the *Spaniard* pausing awhile, says to him, How do you mean, you cannot tell who ? They are the savages to be sure. No, no, says the *Englishman*, they are men in clothes, with arms. Nay then, says the *Spaniard*, why

are you concerned? If they are not savages, they must be friends; for there is no Christian nation upon earth, but will do us good rather than harm.

While they were debating thus, comes the three *Englishmen*, and standing without the wood which was new planted, hallooed to them; they presently knew their voices, and so all the wonder of that kind ceased. But now the admiration was turned upon another question, *viz.* What could be the matter, and what made them come back again.

It was not long before they brought the men in; and inquiring where they had been, and what they had been doing, they gave them a full account of their voyage, in a few words, *viz.* That they reached the land in two days, or something less; but finding the people alarmed at their coming, and preparing with bows and arrows to fight them, they durst not go on shore, but sailed on to the northward six or seven hours, till they came to a great opening, by which they perceived that the land they saw from

and then they owned that they made a great feast, and eat their prisoners.

The *Englishmen* inquired when they had a feast of that kind; and they told them about two moons agone, pointing to the moon, and then to two fingers; and that their great king had two hundred prisoners now, which he had taken in his war; and they were feeding them to make them fat for the next feast. The *Englishmen* seemed mighty desirous to see those prisoners; but the other mistaking them, thought they were desirous to have some of them to carry away for their own eating. So they beckoned to them, pointing to the setting of the sun, and then to the rising; which was to signify, that the next morning, at sun-rising, they would bring some for them; and accordingly, the next morning, they brought down five women, and eleven men; and gave them to the *Englishmen* to carry with them on their voyage, just as we would bring so many cows and oxen down to a sea port town, to victual a ship.

As brutish and barbarous as these fellows were at home, their stomachs turned at this sight, and they did not know what to do: to refuse the prisoners would have been the highest affront to the savage gentry that offered them; and what to do with them they knew not: however, upon some debate, they resolved to accept of them; and, in return, they gave the savages that brought them one of their hatchets, an old key, a knife, and six or seven of their bullets, which, though they did not understand, they seemed extremely pleased with: and then, tying the poor creatures' hands behind them, they (the people) dragged the poor prisoners into the boat for our men.

The *Englishmen* were obliged to come away as soon as they had them, or else they that gave them this nuble present, would certainly have expected that they should have gone to work with them, have killed two or three of them the next morning, and perhaps have invited the donors to dinner.

But, having taken their leave with all the respects and thanks that could well pass between people, where, on either side, they understood not one word they could say, they put off with their boat, and came back towards the first island, where, when they arrived, they set eight of their prisoners at liberty, there being too many of them for their occasion.

In their voyage they endeavoured to have some communication with their prisoners, but it was impossible to make them understand any thing ; nothing they could say to them, or give them, or do for them, but was looked upon as going about to murder them ; they first of all unbound them ; but the poor creatures screamed at that, especially the women, as if they had just felt the knife at their throats ; for they immediately concluded they were unbound on purpose to be killed.

If they gave them any thing to eat, it was the same thing ; then they concluded it was for fear they should sink in flesh, and so not be fat enough to kill : if they looked at one of them more

they sat, all of them stark-naked ; first, there were three lusty, comely fellows, well-shaped, straight and fair limbs, in thirty to thirty-five years of age, and five women, whereof might be from thirty to forty, two more not above four or and twenty, and the fifth, a tall, comely maiden, about six- or seventeen : the women were well-favoured agreeable ones, both in shape and features, only tawny ; and two of them, had they been perfect white, would have passed for very handsome women, even in *London* itself, having very pleasant countenances, and of a very modest behaviour, especially as they came afterwards to be clothed and dressed, as they did it, though the dress was very indifferent, it must be confess'd ; of which hereafter.

The sight, you may be sure, was something uncouth to our readers, who were (to give them a just character) men of the best behaviour, of the most calm sedate tempers, and perfect humour that ever I met with ; and, in particular, of the best modesty, as will presently appear. I say the sight was very ugly, to see three naked men, and five naked women, all their bound, and in the most miserable circumstances that man's nature could be supposed to be, viz. to be expecting every moment to be dragged out, and have their brains knocked out, and then to be eaten up like a calf that is killed for a boar.

The first thing they did was to cause the old Indian, Friday's master, to go in, and see first if he knew any of them ; and then, if he understood any of their speech : as soon as the old man came in, he looked seriously at them, but knew none of them ; neither did any of them understand a word he said, or a sign he could give, except one of the women.

However, this was enough to answer the end, which was to inform them, that the men into whose hands they were fallen, were Christians ; that they abhorred eating of men or women,

nd that they might be sure they would not be killed : as soon as they were assured of this, they discovered such a joy, and by such awkward and several ways, as is hard to describe ; for it seems they were of several nations.

The woman, who was their interpreter, was bid, in the next place, to ask them if they were willing to be servants, and to work for the men who had brought them away, to save their lives ? At which they all fell a dancing ; and presently one fell to taking up this, and another that, any thing that lay next, to carry on their shoulders, to intimate that they were willing to work.

The governor who found that the having the women among them would presently be attended with some inconveniency, and might occasion some strife, and perhaps blood, asked the three men, what they intended to do with these women, and how they intended to use them, whether as servants, or as women ? One of the *Englishmen* answered very boldly and readily, that

like women that were not Christians ; and all together declared, that they would not touch one of them ; which was an instance of such virtue as I have not met with in all my travels ; on the other hand, to be short, the five *Englishmen* took them every one a wife ; that is to say, a temporary wife ; and so they set up a new form of living ; for the *Spaniards* and *Friday's* father lived in my old habitation, which they had enlarged exceedingly within ; the three servants, which they had taken in the late battle of the savages lived with them ; and these carried on the main part of the colony, supplying all the rest with food, and assisting them in any thing as they could, or as they found necessity required.

But the wonder of this story was, how five such refractory, ill-matched fellows should agree about these women, and that two of them should not pitch upon the same woman, especially seeing two or three of them were, without comparison, more agreeable than the other : but they took a good way enough to prevent quarrelling among themselves : for they set the five women by themselves in one of their huts, and they went all into the other hut, and drew lots among them who should choose first.

He that drew to choose first, went away by himself to the hut, where the poor naked creatures were, and fetched out her he chose ; and it was worth observing, that he that chose first, took her that was reckoned the homeliest, and the oldest of the five, which made mirth enough among the rest : and even the *Spaniards* laughed at it : but the fellow considered better than any of them, that it was application and business, that they were to expect assistance in, as much as any thing else ; and she proved the best wife of all the parcel.

When the poor women saw themselves set in a row thus, and fetched out one by one, the terrors of their condition returned upon them again, and they firmly believed that they were now

going to be devoured: accordingly, when the *English* sailor came in and fetched out one of them, the rest set up a most lamentable cry, and hung about her, and took their leave of her with such agonies and such affection, as would have grieved the hardest heart in the world; nor was it possible for the *Englishmen* to satisfy them that they were not to be immediately murdered, till they fetched the old man, *Friday's* father, who instantly let them know, that the five men who had fetched them out one by one, had chosen them for their wives.

When they had done, and the fright the women were in was a little over, the men went to work, and the *Spaniards* came and helped them; and, in a few hours, they had built them every one a new hut or tent for their lodging apart; for those they had already were crowded with their tools, household stuff, and provisions. The three wicked ones had pitched farthest off; and the two honest ones nearer, but both on the north shore of the island, so that they continued separated as before: and thus

viewed the several improvements, planting, and management of the several little colonies, the two men had so far outgone the three, that there was no comparison: they had indeed both of them as much ground laid out for corn as they wanted; and the reason was, because, according to my rule, nature dictated, that it was to no purpose to sow more corn than they wanted; but the difference of the cultivation, of the planting, of the fences, and indeed of every thing else, was easy to be seen at first view.

The two men had innumerable young trees planted about their huts, that when you came to the place nothing was to be seen but a wood; and though they had twice had their plantation demolished, once by their own countrymen, and once by the enemy, as shall be shewn in its place, yet they had restored all again, and every thing was thriving and flourishing about them: they had grapes planted in order, and managed like a vineyard, though they had themselves never seen any thing of that kind: and by their good ordering their vines, their grapes were as good again as any of the others. They had also found themselves out a retreat in the thickest part of the woods, where, though there was not a natural cave, as I had found, yet they made one with incessant labour of their hands, and where, when the mischief which followed happened, they secured their wives and children, so as they could never be found; they having, by sticking innumerable stakes and poles of the wood, which, as I said, grew so easily, made the wood unpassable, except in one place, where they climbed up to get over the outside part, and then went in by ways of their own leaving.

As to the three reprobates, as I justly call them, though they were much civilized by their new settlement compared to what they were before, and were not so quarrelsome, having not the same opportunity, yet one of the certain companions of a profligate mind never left them, and that was their idleness. It is true they planted corn, and made fences; but Solomon's words were

never better verified than in them. “*I went by the vineyard of the slothful, and it was all overgrown with thorns;*” for when the Spaniards came to view their crop, they could not see it in some places for weeds; the hedge had several gaps in it, where the wild goats had got in and eaten up the corn; perhaps here and there a dead bush was crammed in, to stop them out for the present, but it was only shutting the stable door after the steed was stolen; whereas, when they looked on the colony of the other two, there was the very face of industry and success upon all they did; there was not a weed to be seen in all their corn, or a gap in any of their hedges; and they, on the other hand, verified Solomon’s words in another place, “*That the diligent hand makes rich;*” for every thing grew and thrived, and they had plenty within and without; they had more tame cattle than the other, more utensils and necessaria within doors, and yet more pleasure and diversion too.

It is true, the wives of the three were very handy and cleanly

room to doubt they came upon the old errand of feeding upon their slaves ; but that part was now so familiar to the *Spaniards*, and to our men too, that they did not concern themselves about it, as I did ; but, having been made sensible by their experience, that their only business was to lie concealed, and that, if they were not seen by any of the savages, they would go off again quietly, when their business was done, having as yet not the least notion of there being any inhabitants in the island ; I say, having been made sensible of this, they had nothing to do but to give notice to all the three plantations to keep within doors, and not to shew themselves ; only placing a scout in a proper place, to give notice when the boats went to sea again.

This was, without doubt, very right ; but a disaster spoiled all these measures, and made it known among the savages, that they were inhabitants there ; which was, in the end, the desolation of almost the whole colony. After the canoes with the savages were gone off, the *Spaniards* peeped abroad again, and some of them had the curiosity to go to the place where they had been, to see what they had been doing. Here, to their great surprise, they found three savages left behind, and lying fast asleep upon the ground ; it was supposed they had either been so gorged with their inhuman feast, that, like beasts, they were asleep, and would not stir when the others went, or they were wandered into the woods, and did not come back in time to be taken in.

The *Spaniards* were greatly surprised at this sight, and perfectly at a loss what to do : the *Spaniard* governor, as it happened, was with them, and his advice was asked ; but he professed he knew not what to do : as for slaves, they had enough already ; and as to killing them, they were none of them inclined to that ; the *Spaniard* governor told me they could not think of shedding innocent blood ; for as to them the poor creatures had done them no wrong, invaded none of their property ;

and they thought they had no just quarrel against them to take away their lives.

And here I must, in justice to these *Spaniards*, observe, that let the accounts of Spanish cruelty in *Mexico* and *Peru* be what they will, I never met with seventeen men, of any nation whatsoever, in any foreign country, who were so universally modest, temperate, virtuous, so very good-humoured, and so courteous, as these *Spaniards*; and, as to cruelty, they had nothing of it in their very nature; no inhumanity, no barbarity, no outrageous passions, and yet all of them men of great courage and spirit.

Their temper and calmness had appeared in their bearing the unsufferable usage of the three *Englishmen*; and their justice and humanity appeared now in the case of the savages, as above: after some consultation, they resolved upon this, that they would lie still a while longer, till, if possible, these three men might be gone; but then the governor *Spaniard* recollects that the three savages had no boat; and that if they were left to rove about

for them to do : and whether it was by negligence in guarding them, or that they thought the fellows could not mend themselves, I know not, but one of them run away ; and, taking into the woods, they could never hear of him more.

They had good reason to believe he got home again soon after in some other boats or canoes of savages, who came on shore three or four weeks afterwards, and who, carrying on their revels as usual, went off again in two days time : this thought terrified them exceedingly ; for they concluded, and that not without good cause indeed, that if this fellow got safe home among his comrades, he would certainly give them an account that there were people in the island, as also how weak and few they were ; for this savage, as I observed before, had never been told, and it was very happy he had not, how many they were, or where they lived, nor had he ever seen or heard the fire of any of their guns, much less had they shewn him any of their other retired places, such as the cave in the valley, or the new retreat which the two *Englishmen* had made, *and the like*.

The first testimony they had, that this fellow had given intelligence of them was, that about two months after this, six canoes of savages, with about seven or eight, or ten men in a canoe, came rowing along the north side of the island, where they never used to come before, and landed about an hour after sun-rise, at a convenient place, about a mile from the habitation of the two *Englishmen*, where this escaped man had been kept : as the *Spaniard* governor said, had they been all there, the damage would not have been so much, for not a man of them would have escaped : but the case differed now very much ; for two men to fifty was too much odds : the two men had the happiness to discover them about a league off, so that it was above an hour before they landed ; and as they landed a mile from their huts, it was some time before they could come at them. Now having great reason to believe that they were betrayed, the first thing they did was to bind the two slaves which were left, and cause two of

the three men, who they brought with the women, who, it seems, proved very faithful to them, to lead them with their two wives, and whatever they could carry away with them, to their retired place in the woods, which I have spoken of above, and there to bind the two fellows hand and foot till they heard farther.

In the next place, seeing the savages were all come on shore; and that they bent their course directly that way, they opened the fences where their milch-goats were kept, and drove them all out, leaving their goats to straggle into the woods, whither they pleased, that the savages might think they were all bred wild; but the rogue who came with them was too cunning for that, and gave them an account of it all; for they went directly to the place. When the two poor frightened men had secured their wives and goods, they sent the other slave they had of the three, who came with the women, and who was at their place by accident, away to the *Spaniards* with all speed, to give them the alarm, and desire speedy help; and in the mean time they took

might come that way, so they might come too many together, thought it proper to make another retreat about half a mile farther, believing, as it afterwards happened, that the farther they strolled, the fewer would be together.

The next halt was at the entrance into a very thick grown part of the woods, and where an old trunk of a tree stood, which was hollow, and vastly large; and in this tree they both took their standing, resolving to see what might offer.

They had not stood there long, but two of the savages appeared running directly that way, as if they had already had notice where they stood, and were coming up to attack them; and a little way farther they spied three more coming after them, and five more beyond them, all coming the same way; besides which, they saw seven or eight more at a distance running another way; for, in a word, they ran every way, like sportsmen beating for their game.

The poor men were now in great perplexity, whether they should stand, and keep their posture, or fly; but after a very short debate with themselves, they considered, that if the savages ranged the country thus, before help came, they might, perhaps, find out their retreat in the woods, and then all would be lost; so they resolved to stand them there; and if there were too many to deal with, then they would get to the top of the tree, from whence they doubted not to defend themselves, *fire excepted*, as long as their ammunition lasted, though all the savages that were landed, which was near fifty, were to attack them.

Having resolved upon this, they next considered whether they should fire at the first two, or wait for the three, and so take the middle party; by which the two and the five that followed would be separated; and they resolved to let the two first pass by, unless they should spy them in the tree, and come to attack them. The two first savages also confirmed them in this regulation, by turning a little from them towards another part of the wood; but the three, and the five after them, came for-

wards directly to the tree, as if they had known the *Englishmen* were there.

Seeing them come so straight towards them, they resolved to take them in a line as they came; and as they resolved to fire but one at a time, perhaps the first shot might hit them all three; to which purpose, the man who was to fire, put three or four small bullets into his piece, and having a fair loophole, as it were, from a broken hole in the tree, he took a sure aim, without being seen, waiting till they were within about thirty yards of the tree, so that he could not miss.

While they were thus waiting, and the savages came on, they plainly saw that one of the three was the run-away savage that had escaped from them, and they both knew him distinctly, and resolved that, if possible, he should not escape, though they should both fire; so the other stood ready with his piece, that if he did not drop at the first shot, he should be sure to have a second.

that, perhaps, was ever shot off in that place since it was an island.

However, all being silent again, and they not knowing what the matter was, came on unconcerned till they came to the place where their companions lay, in a condition miserable enough ; and here the poor ignorant creatures, not sensible that they were within reach of the same mischief, stood all of a huddle over the wounded man, talking, and, as may be supposed, inquiring of him how he came to be hurt : and who, 'tis very rational to believe, told them that a flash of fire first, and immediately after that, thunder from their gods, had killed those two, and wounded him. This, I say, is rational ; for nothing is more certain than that, as they saw no man near them, so they had never heard a gun in all their lives, or so much as heard of a gun ; neither knew they any thing of killing or wounding at a distance, with fire and bullets ; if they had, one might reasonably believe, that they would not have stood so unconcerned, in viewing the fate of their fellows, without some apprehension of their own.

Our two men, though, as they confessed to me, it grieved them to be obliged to kill so many poor creatures, who at the same time had no notion of their danger ; yet, having them all thus in their power, and the first having loaded his piece again, resolved to let fly both together among them ; and singling out by agreement which to aim at, they shot together, and killed, or very much wounded, four of them ; the fifth, frightened even to death, though not hurt, fell with the rest ; so that our men, seeing them all fall together, thought they had killed them all.

The belief that the savages were all killed, made our two men come boldly out from the tree before they had charged their guns again, which was a wrong step ; and they were under some surprise, when they came to the place, and found no less than four of the men alive, and of them, two very little hurt, and one not at all : this obliged them to fall upon them with the stocks

of their musquets ; and first, they made sure of the run-away savage, that had been the cause of all the mischief ; and of another that was hurt in his knee, and put them out of their pain ; then the man that was not hurt at all came and kneeled down to them, with his two hands held up, and made piteous moans to them by gestures and signs, for his life ; but could not say one word to them that they could understand.

However, they signed to him to sit down at the foot of a tree thereby ; and one of the *Englishmen*, with a piece of rope-wine, which he had by great chance in his pocket, tied his two feet fast together, and his two hands behind him, and there they left him ; and, with what speed they could, made after the other two which were gone before, fearing they, or any more of them, should find the way to their covered place in the woods, where their wives and the few goods they had left lay : they came out of sight of the two men, but it was at a great distance ; ever, they had the satisfaction to see them cross over a valley, towards

ed, inaccessible, by the trees standing so thick, *as before*, had the persons seeking it been directed by those that knew it, *th* these did not ; they found, therefore, every thing very *only* the women in a terrible fright : while they were here, *had* the comfort to have seven of the *Spaniards* come to *assistance* ; the other ten, with their servants, and old *Friday* I mean *Friday*'s father, were gone in a body to defend their *ter*, and the corn and cattle that was kept there, in case the *ges* should have roved over to that side of the country ; but *did* not spread so far. With the seven *Spaniards* came one *three* savages, who, as I said, were their prisoners formerly, with them also came the savage who the *Englishmen* had left *nd* hand and foot at the tree ; for it seems they came that *saw* the slaughter of the seven men, and unbound the *th*, and brought him along with them, where, however, they *obliged* to bind him again, as they had the two others, who *left* when the third ran away.

The prisoners began now to be a burden to them ; and they *so* afraid of their escaping, that they were once resolving to *them* all, believing they were under an absolute necessity to *o*, for their own preservation : however, the *Spaniard* gover- *would* not consent to it ; but ordered, for the present, that *should* be sent out of the way to my old cave in the valley, *be* kept there, with two *Spaniards* to guard them, and give *food* for their subsistence : which was done, and they were *nd* there hand and foot for that night.

When the *Spaniards* came, the two *Englishmen* were so encou- *d*, that they could not satisfy themselves to stay any longer *;* but taking five of the *Spaniards*, and themselves, with *mosquets* and a pistol among them, and two stout quarter *away* they went in quest of the savages ; and first, they *to* the tree where the men lay that had been killed ; but it *easy* to see, that some more of the savages had been there ;

for they had attempted to carry their dead men away, and had dragged two of them a good way, but had given it over; from thence they advanced to the first rising ground, where they had stood and saw their camp destroyed, and where they had the mortification still to see some of the smoke; but neither could they here see any of the savages: they then resolved, though with all possible caution, to go forward towards their ruined plantation; but a little before they came thither, coming in sight of the sea-shore, they saw plainly the savages all embarking again in their canoes, in order to be gone.

They seemed sorry at first; and there was no way to come at them, to give them a parting blow; but, upon the whole, were very well satisfied to be rid of them.

The poor *Englishmen* being now twice ruined, and all their improvement destroyed, the rest all agreed to come and help them rebuild, and to assist them with needful supplies. Their three countrymen, who were not yet noted for having the least

resolved to attempt, with sufficient force to carry all before them; for, except what the first man had told them of inhabitants, they could say little to it of their own knowledge, for they never saw one man, and the fellow being killed that had affirmed it, they had no other witness to confirm it to them.

It was five or six months after this, before they heard any more of the savages, in which time our men were in hopes they had either forgot their former bad luck, or given over the hopes of better, when, on a sudden, they were invaded with a most formidable fleet, of no less than eight and twenty canoes full of savages, armed with bows and arrows, great clubs, wooden swords, and such like engines of war; and they brought such numbers with them, that, in short, it put all our people into the utmost consternation.

As they came on shore in the evening, and at the easternmost side of the island, our men had that night to consult and consider what to do; and in the first place, knowing that their being entirely concealed was their only safety before, and would much more be so now, while the number of their enemies was so great, they therefore resolved first of all, to take down the huts which were built for the two *Englishmen*, and drive away their goats to the old cave; because they supposed the savages would go directly thither, as soon as it was day, to play the old game over again, though they did not now land within two leagues of it.

In the next place, they drove away all the flock of goats they had at the old bower, as I called it, which belonged to the *Spaniards*; and, in short, left as little appearance of inhabitants anywhere as was possible; and the next morning early they posted themselves with all their force, at the plantation of the two men, and wait for their coming. As they guessed, so it happened: these new invaders, leaving their canoes at the east end of the island, came ranging along the shore, directly towards the place, to the number of two hundred and fifty, as near as our men

ould judge. Our army was but small indeed ; but, that what was worse, they had not arms for all their number neither. The whole account, it seems, stood thus. First as to men.

17 *Spaniards.*

5 *Englishmen.*

1 *Old Friday, or Friday's father.*

3 The three slaves, taken with the women, who proved very faithful.

3 Other slaves who lived with the *Spaniards.*

To arm these they had

11 *Musquets.*

5 *Pistols.*

3 *Fowling pieces.*

5 *Muskets, or fowling pieces, which were taken by me from the mutinous seamen who I reduced.*

2 *Swords.*

2 *Old halberts.*

useful fellow, with six men, was planted just behind a small thicket of bushes, as an advanced guard, with orders to let the first of them pass by, and then fire into the middle of them ; and, as soon as he had fired, to make his retreat as nimbly as he could, round a part of the wood, and so come in behind the *Spaniards* where they stood, having a thicket of trees also before them.

When the savages came on, they run straggling about every way in heaps, out of all manner of order ; and *W. Atkins* let about fifty of them pass by him ; then, seeing the rest come in a very thick throng, he orders three of his men to fire, having loaded their musquets with six or seven bullets a-piece, about as big as large pistol bullets. How many they killed or wounded, they knew not ; but the consternation and surprise was inexpressible among the savages, they were frightened to the last degree, to hear such a dreadful noise, and see their men killed, and others hurt, but see nobody that did it ; when in the middle of their fright, *W. Atkins*, and his other three, let fly again among the thickest of them ; and in less than a minute, the other three being loaded again, gave them a third volley.

Had *W. Atkins* and his men retired immediately, as soon as they had fired, as they were ordered to do ; or had the rest of the body been at hand to have poured in their shot continually, the savages had been effectually routed ; for the terror that was among them came principally from this ; viz. That they were killed by the gods with thunder and lightning, and could see nobody that hurt them ; but *W. Atkins*, staying to load again, discovered the cheat ; some of the savages, who were at a distance, spying them, came upon them behind ; and though *Atkins* and his men fired at them also, two or three times, and killed above twenty, retiring as fast as they could, yet they wounded *Atkins* himself, and killed one of his fellow *Englishmen* with their arrows, as they did afterwards one *Spaniard*, and one of the *Indian* slaves who came with the women ; this slave was a most

gallant fellow, and fought most desperately, killing five of them with his own hand, having no weapon but one of the armed staves, and a hatchet.

Our men being thus hard laid at, *Atkins* wounded, and two other men killed, retreated to a rising ground in the wood; and the *Spaniards*, after firing three volleys upon them, retreated also; for their number was so great, and they were so desperate, that though above fifty of them were killed, and more than so many wounded, yet they came on in the teeth of our men, fearless of danger, and shot their arrows like a cloud; and it was observed, that their wounded men, who were not quite disabled, were made outrageous by their wounds, and fought like madmen.

When our men retreated, they left the *Spaniard* and the *Englishman*, that was killed, behind them; and the savages, when they came up to them, killed them over again in a wretched manner, breaking their arms, legs, and heads, with their clubs, and wooden swords like true savages. But finding our men

*Spaniard*, you have behaved gallantly, and done your part; we will fight for you, if you cannot come on; but I think it best to stay till morning; so they waited.

But as it was a clear moon-light night, and they found the savages in great disorder about their dead and wounded men, and a great hurry and noise among them where they lay, they afterwards resolved to fall upon them in the night, especially if they could come to give them but one volley before they were discovered, which they had a fair opportunity to do; for one of the two *Englishmen*, in whose quarter it was where the fight began, led them round between the woods and the seaside, westward, and then turning short south, they came so near where the thickest of them lay, that before they were seen or heard, eight of them fired in among them; and did dreadful execution upon them; in half a minute more eight others fired after them, pouring in their small shot in such a quantity, that abundance were killed and wounded; and all this while they were not able to see who hurt them, or which way to fly.

The *Spaniards* charged again, with the utmost expedition, and then divided themselves into three bodies, and resolved to fall in among them all together: they had in each body eight persons; that is to say, twenty-four, whereof were twenty-two men, and two women, who, by the way, fought desperately.

They divided the fire arms equally in each party, and so of the halberts and rapiers. They would have had the women keep back; but they said, they were resolved to die with their husbands. Having thus formed their little army, they marched out from among the trees, and came up to the teeth of the enemy, shouting and hallooing as loud as they could; the savages stood all together, but were in the utmost confusion, hearing the noise of our men shouting from three quarters together; they would have fought if they had seen us; and, as soon as we came near enough to be seen, some arrows were shot, and poor old Friday

was wounded, though not dangerously. But our men gave them no time ; but, running up to them, fired among them three ways, and then fell in with the but-ends of their musquets, their swords, armed staves and hatchets ; and laid about them so well, that, in a word, they set up a dismal screaming and howling, flying to save their lives which way soever they could.

Our men were tired with the execution ; and killed, or mortally wounded, in the two fights, about 180 of them ; the rest being frightened out of their wits, scoured through the woods, and over the hills, with all the speed fear and nimble feet could help them to do ; and as we did not trouble ourselves much to pursue them, they got all together to the sea-side, where they landed, and where their canoes lay. But their disaster was not at an end yet ; for it blew a terrible storm of wind that evening from the sea-ward ; so that it was impossible for them to go off ; nay, the storm continuing all night, when the tide came up, their canoes were most of them driven by the surge of the sea so high

miserable remains of the savages' army lay, where there appeared about 100 still ; their posture was generally sitting upon the ground, with their knees up towards their mouth, and the head put between the two hands, leaning down upon the knees.

When our men came within two musquet shot of them, the *Spaniard* governor ordered two musquets to be fired without ball, to alarm them ; this he did, that by their countenance he might know what to expect, *viz.* Whether they were still in heart to fight, or were so heartily beaten, as to be dispirited and discouraged, and so he might manage accordingly.

This stratagem took ; for, as soon as the savages heard the first gun, and saw the flash of the second, they started up upon their feet in the greatest consternation imaginable ; and, as our men advanced swiftly towards them, they all ran screaming and yawling away, with a kind of a howling noise, which our men did not understand, and had never heard before ; and thus they run up the hills into the country.

At first, our men had much rather the weather had been calm, and they had all gone away to sea ; but they did not then consider, that this might probably have been the occasion of their coming again in such multitudes as not to be resisted, or, at least, to come so many and so often, as would quite desolate the island, and starve them. *Will Atkins* therefore, who, notwithstanding his wound, kept always with them, proved the best counsellor in this case ; his advice was, to take the advantage that offered, and clap in between them and their boats, and so deprive them of the capacity of ever returning any more to plague the island.

They consulted long about this, and some were against it, for fear of making the wretches fly into the woods, and live there desperate ; and so they should have them to hunt like wild beasts, be afraid to stir out about their business, and have their plantations continually rifled, all their tame goats destroyed, and, in short, be reduced to a life of continual distress.

Will Atkins told them, they had better have to do with 100 men, than with 100 nations ; that as they must destroy their boats, so they must destroy the men, or be all of them destroyed themselves. In a word, he shewed them the necessity of it so plainly, that they all came into it ; so they went to work immediately with the boats, and, getting some dry wood together from a dead tree, they tried to set some of them on fire ; but they were so wet, that they would not burn. However, the fire so burned the upper part, that it soon made them unfit for swimming in the sea as boats. When the *Indians* saw what they were about, some of them came running out of the woods, and coming as near as they could to our men, kneeled down and cried, *Oa, Oa, Waramokoa*, and some other words of their language, which none of the others understood any thing of ; but as they made pitiful gestures, and strange noises, it was easy to understand they begged to have their boats spared, and that they would be gone, and never come there again.









dians did not find out their main retreat, I mean my old castle at the hill, nor the cave in the valley; yet they found out my plantation at the bower, and pulled it all to pieces, and all the fences and planting about it; trod all the corn under foot; tore up the vines and grapes, being just then almost ripe; and did to our men an inestimable damage, though, to themselves, not one farthing worth of service.

Though our men were able to fight them upon all occasions, yet they were in no condition to pursue them, or hunt them up and down; for as they were too nimble of foot for our men when they found them single, so our men durst not go about single, for fear of being surrounded with their numbers; the best was, they had no weapons; for though they had bows, they had no arrows left, nor any materials to make any, nor had they any edged tool or weapon among them.

The extremity and distress they were reduced to was great, and indeed deplorable; but at the same time our men were also brought to very bad circumstances by them; for though their retreats were preserved, yet their provision was destroyed, and their harvest spoiled; and what to do, or which way to turn themselves, they knew not; the only refuge they had now was, the stock of cattle they had in the valley by the cave, and some little corn which grew there, and the plantation of the three Englishmen, *Will Atkins* and his comrades, who were now reduced to two, one of them being killed by an arrow, which struck him on the side of his head, just under the temples, so that he never spoke more; and it was very remarkable that this was the same barbarous fellow who cut the poor savage slave with his hatchet, and who afterwards intended to have murdered all the Spaniards.

I looked upon their case to have been worse at this time than mine was at any time after I first discovered the grains of barley and rice, and got into the manner of planting and raising raw corn, and my tame cattle; for now they had, as I may say, a

hundred wolves upon the island, which would devour every thing they could come at, yet could very hardly be come at themselves.

The first thing they concluded, when they saw what their circumstances were, was, that they would, if possible, drive them up to the farther part of the island, south-west, that if any more savages came on shore, they might not find one another; then, that they would daily hunt and harass them, and kill as many of them as they could come at, till they had reduced their number; and if they could at last tame them, and bring them to any thing, they would give them corn, and teach them how to plant, and live upon their daily labour.

In order to this, they so followed them, and so terrified them with their guns, that in a few days, if any of them fired a gun at an Indian, if he did not hit him, yet he would fall down for fear; and so dreadfully frightened they were, that they kept out of sight, farther and farther, till at last our men, following them,

eat nor drink ; but finding himself kindly used, and victuals given him, and no violence offered him, he at last grew tractable, and came to himself.

They brought old *Friday* to him, who talked often with him, and told him how kind the other would be to them all ; that they would not only save their lives, but would give them a part of the island to live in, provided they would give satisfaction, that they would keep in their own bounds, and not come beyond it, to injure or prejudice others ; and that they should have corn given them, to plant and make it grow for their bread, and some bread given them for their present subsistence ; and old *Friday* bade the fellow go and talk with the rest of his countrymen, and see what they said to it ; assuring them, that if they did not agree immediately they should be all destroyed.

The poor wretches, thoroughly humbled, and reduced in number to about thirty seven, closed with the proposal at the first offer, and begged to have some food given them ; upon which twelve *Spaniards* and two *Englishmen*, well armed, with three *Indian* slaves, and old *Friday*, marched to the place where they were ; the three *Indian* slaves carried them a large quantity of bread, some rice boiled up to cakes, and dried in the sun, and three live goats ; and they were ordered to go to the side of a hill, where they sat down, eat the provisions very thankfully, and were the most faithful fellows to their words that could be thought of ; for, except when they came to beg victuals and directions, they never came out of their bounds ; and there they lived when I came to the island, and I went to see them.

They had taught them both to plant corn, make bread, breed tame goats, and milk them ; they wanted nothing but wives, and they soon would have been a nation : they were confined to a neck of land, surrounded with high rocks behind them, and lying plain towards the sea before them, on the south-east corner of the island ; they had land enough, and it was very good and

ruitful ; they had a piece of land about a mile and half broad, three or four mile in length.

Our men taught them to make wooden spades, such as I made for myself ; and gave them among them twelve hatchets, and three or four knives ; and there they lived the most subjected innocent creatures that ever were heard of.

After this the colony enjoyed a perfect tranquillity with respect to the savages, till I came to re-visit them, which was above two years ; not but that now and then some canoes of savages came on shore for their triumphal, unnatural feasts ; but as they were of several nations, and, perhaps, had never heard of those that came before, or the reason of it, they did not make any search or inquiry after their countrymen ; and if they had, it would have been very hard to have found them out.

Thus, I think, I have given a full account of all that happened to them, to my return, at least, that was worth notice. The *Indians*, or savages, were wonderfully civilized by them, and

round, which was a very extraordinary piece of ingenuity, and looked very odd ; but was an exceeding good fence, as well against heat as against all sorts of vermin ; and our men were so taken with it, that they got the wild savages to come and do the like for them ; so that when I came to see the two *Englishmen's* colonies, they looked, at a distance, as if they lived all like bees in a hive ; and as for *W. Atkins*, who was now become a very industrious, necessary, and sober fellow, he had made himself such a tent of basket-work, as I believe was never seen. It was 120 paces round in the outside, as I measured by my steps ; the walls were as close worked as a basket, in pannels or squares, of thirty-two in number, and very strong, standing about seven foot high : in the middle was another not above twenty-two paces round, but built stronger, being eight square in its form, and in the eight corners stood eight very strong posts, round the top of which he laid strong pieces, pinned together with wooden pins, from which he raised a pyramid for a roof of eight rafters, very handsome, I assure you, and joined together very well, though he had no nails, and only a few iron spikes, which he made himself too, out of the old iron that I had left there ; and indeed, this fellow shewed abundance of ingenuity in several things which he had no knowledge of ; he made him a forge, with a pair of wooden bellows to blow the fire ; he made himself charcoal for his work, and he formed out of one of the iron crows a middling good anvil to hammer upon ; in this manner he made many things, but especially hooks, staples and spikes, bolts and hinges. But to return to the house : after he had pitched the roof of his innermost tent, he worked it up between the rafters with basket-work, so firm, and thatched that over again so ingeniously with rice straw, and over that a large leaf of a tree, which covered the top, that his house was as dry as if it had been tiled or slated. Indeed he owned that the savages made the basket-work for him.

The outer circuit was covered, as a lean to, all round this

inner apartment, and long rafters lay from the two and thirty angles to the top posts of the inner house, being about twenty foot distant; so that there was a space like a walk within the outer wicker-wall, and without the inner, near twenty foot wide.

The inner place he partitioned off with the same wicker-work, but much fairer, and divided it into six apartments, so that he had six rooms on a floor, and out of every one of these there was a door; first, into the entry, or coming into the main tent; and another door into the space or walk that was round it; so that walk was also divided into six equal parts, which served not only for retreat, but to store up any necessaries which the family had occasion for. These six spaces not taking up the whole circumference, what other apartments the outer circle had, were thus ordered: as soon as you were in at the door of the outer circle, you had a short passage straight before you to the door of the inner house; but on either side was a wicker partition, and a door in it, by which you went, first, into a large room or store-house,

found a turtle on the shore : so that they all lived well enough, though it was true, they were not so industrious as the other two, as has been observed already.

One thing, however, cannot be omitted, *viz.* that, as for religion, I don't know that there was any thing of that kind among them ; they pretty often, indeed put one another in mind, that there was a God, by the very common method of seamen, *viz.* swearing by his name ; nor were their poor, ignorant savage wives much the better for having been married to Christians, as we must call them ; for as they knew very little of God themselves, so they were utterly incapable of entering into any discourse with their wives about a God, or to talk any thing to them concerning religion.

The utmost of all the improvement which I can say the wives had made from them, was, that they had taught them to speak *English* pretty well ; and all the children they had, which was near twenty in all, were taught to speak *English* too, from their first learning to speak, though they at first spoke it in a very broken manner, like their mothers. There were none of these children above six year old when I came thither ; for it was not much above seven year that they had fetched these five savage ladies over, but they had all been pretty fruitful, for they had all children, more or less. I think the cook's mate's wife was big of her sixth child ; and the mothers were all a good sort of well governed, quiet, laborious women, modest and decent, helpful to one another, mighty observant and subject to their masters, I cannot call them husbands ; and wanted nothing but to be well instructed in the Christian religion, and to be legally married ; both which were happily brought about afterwards by my means, or, at least, in consequence of my coming among them.

Having thus given an account of the colony in general, and pretty much of my five runagate *Englishmen*, I must say something of the *Spaniards*, who were the main body of the family :

nd in whose story there are some incidents also remarkable enough.

I had a great many discourses with them about their circumstances, when they were among the savages: they told me readily, that they had no instances to give of their application or ingenuity in that country; that they were a poor, miserable, rejected handful of people; that if means had been put into their hands, they had yet so abandoned themselves to despair, and so sunk under the weight of their misfortunes, that they thought of nothing but starving. One of them, a grave and very sensible man, told me, he was convinced they were in the wrong; that it was not the part of wise men to give up themselves to their misery, but always to take hold of the helps which reason offered, as well for present support, as for future deliverance; he told me, that grief was the most senseless, insignificant passion in the world, for that it regarded only things past, which were generally impossible to be recalled or to be remedied, but had no

in the world to struggle with misfortunes; for that their first step in dangers, after the common efforts were over, was always to despair, lie down under it and die, without rousing their thoughts up to proper remedies for escape.

I told him, their case and mine differed exceedingly; that they were cast upon the shore without necessaries, without supply of food, or of present sustenance, till they could provide: that it is true, I had this disadvantage and discomfort, that I was alone: but then the supplies I had providentially thrown into my hands, by the unexpected driving of the ship on shore, was such a help as would have encouraged any creature in the world to have applied himself as I had done. Seignior, says the Spaniard, had we poor Spaniards been in your case, we should never have gotten half those things out of the ship as you did: nay, says he, we should never have found means to have gotten a raft to carry them, or to have gotten the raft on shore without boat or sail; and how much less should we have done, said he, if any of us had been alone; Well, I desired him to abate his compliment, and go on with the history of their coming on shore where they landed. He told me, they unhappily landed at a place where there were people without provisions; whereas, had they had the common sense to have put off to sea again, and gone to another island a little farther, they had found provisions, though without people; there being an island that way, as they had been told, where there was provisions, though no people; that is to say, that the Spaniards of *Trinidad* had frequently been there, and had filled the island with goats and hogs at several times; where they have bred in such multitudes, and where turtle and sea fowls were in such plenty, that they could ha' been in no want of flesh, though they had found no bread; whereas here they were only sustained with a few roots and herbs, which they understood not, and which had no substance in them, and which the inhabitants gave them sparingly enough, and who could

reat them no better, unless they would turn cannibals, and eat men's flesh, which was the great dainty of their country.

They gave me an account how many ways they strove to civilize the savages they were with, and to teach them rational customs in the ordinary way of living; but in vain; and how they retorted it upon them, as unjust, that they who came there for assistance and support, should attempt to set up for instructors of those that gave them bread: intimating, it seems, that none should set up for the instructors of others, but those who could live without them.

They gave me dismal accounts of the extremities they were driven to; how sometimes they were many days without any food at all; the island they were upon being inhabited by a sort of savages that lived more indolent, and, for that reason, were less supplied with the necessaries of life, than they had reason to believe others were in the same part of the world; and yet they found that these savages were less ravenous and voracious, than

not in reason deny to go out with their landlords to their wars ; so when they came into the field of battle, they were in a worse condition than the savages themselves ; for they neither had bows or arrows, nor could they use those the savages gave them ; so that they could do nothing but stand still, and be wounded with arrows, till they came up to the teeth of their enemy : and then, indeed, the three halberts they had were of use to them ; and they would often drive a whole little army before them, with those halberts and sharpened sticks put into the muzzles of their musquets : but that for al. this, they were sometimes surrounded with multitudes, and in great danger from their arrows ; till at last, they found the way to make themselves large targets of wood, which they covered with skins of wild beasts, whose names they knew not ; and these covered them from the arrows of the savages ; that, notwithstanding these, they were sometimes in great danger, and were once five of them knocked down together, with the clubs of the savages, which was the time when one of them was taken prisoner, that is to say, the Spaniard who I had relieved : that at first they thought had been killed, but when afterwards they heard he was taken prisoner, they were under the greatest grief imaginable, and would willingly have all ventured their lives to have rescued him.

They told me, that when they were so knocked down, the rest of their company rescued them, and stood over them fighting, till they were come to themselves, all but him who they thought had been dead ; and then they made their way with their halbert and pieces, standing close together in a line, through a body of above a thousand savages, beating down all that came in their way, got the victory over their enemies, but to their great sorrow, because it was with the loss of their friend ; who the other party finding him alive, carried off with some others, as I gave an account in my former.

They described most affectionately, how they were surprised

with joy at the return of their friend and companion in misery, who they thought had been devoured by wild beasts of the worst kind, *viz.* by wild men; and, yet how more and more they were surprised with the account he gave them of this errand, and that there was a Christian in any place near, much more one that was able, and had humanity enough to contribute to their deliverance.

They described how they were astonished at the sight of the relief I sent them, and at the appearance of loaves of bread, things they had not seen since their coming to that miserable place; how often they crossed it and blessed it as bread sent from heaven; and what a reviving cordial it was to their spirits to taste it; as also, of the other things I had sent for their supply.

And, after all, they would have told me something of the joy they were in at the sight of a boat and pilots to carry them away to the person and place from whence all these new comforts came; but they told me, it was impossible to express it by words; for their excessive joy, naturally driving them to unab-

them, I must relate the heads of what I did for these people, and the condition in which I left them. It was their opinion, and mine too, that they would be troubled no more with the savages; or that, if they were, they would be able to cut them off, if they were twice as many as before; so they had no concern about that. Then I entered into a serious discourse with the Spaniard, who I called governor, about their stay in the island; for as I was not come to carry any of them off, so it would not be just to carry off some, and leave others, who perhaps would be unwilling to stay if their strength was diminished.

On the other hand, I told them, I came to establish them there, not to remove them; and then I let them know, that I had brought with me relief of sundry kinds for them. That I had been at a great charge to supply them with all things necessary, as well for their convenience as their defence; and that I had such and such particular persons with me, as well to increase and recruit their number, as by the particular necessary employments which they were bred to, being artificers, to assist them in those things, in which, at present, they were to seek.

They were all together when I talked thus to them; and before I delivered to them the stores I had brought, I asked them, one by one, if they had entirely forgot and buried the first animosities that had been among them, and would shake hands with one another, and engage in a strict friendship, and union of interest, that so there might be no more misunderstandings or jealousies.

Will Atkins, with abundance of frankness and good-humour, said, They had met with afflictions enough to make them all sober, and enemies enough to make them all friends. That, for his part, he would live and die with them; and was so far from designing any thing against the Spaniards, that, he owned, they had done nothing to him but what his own mad humour made necessary, and what he would have done, and, perhaps much

worse, in their case : and that he would ask them pardon, if I desired it, for the foolish and brutish things he had done to them ; and was very willing and desirous of living on terms of entire friendship and union with them ; and would do any thing that lay in his power to convince them of it : and as for going to *England*, he cared not if he did not go thither this twenty years.

The *Spaniards* said, they had, indeed, at first, disarmed and excluded *Will Atkins*, and his two countrymen, for their ill conduct, as they had let me know. And they appealed to me, for the necessity they were under to do so ; but that *Will Atkins* had behaved himself so bravely in the great fight they had with the savages, and on several occasions since, and had shewed himself so faithful to, and concerned for the general interest of them all, that they had forgotten all that was past, and thought he merited as much to be trusted with arms, and supplied with necessaries, as any of them ; and that they had testified their satisfaction

the *Englishmen*, had tasted for many years ; and which, it may be supposed, they were exceeding glad of.

The *Spaniards* added to our feast five whole kids, which the cooks roasted ; and three of them were sent covered up close, on board the ship to the seamen, that they might feast on fresh meat from on shore, as we did with their salt meat from on board.

After this feast, at which we were very innocently merry, I brought out my cargo of goods, wherein, that there might be no dispute about dividing, I shewed them that there was sufficient for them all ; desired, that they might all take an equal quantity of the goods that were for wearing ; that is to say, equal when made up. As, first, I distributed linen sufficient to make every one of them four shirts ; and, at the *Spaniard's* request, afterwards made them up six ; these were exceeding comfortable to them, having been what, as I may say, they had long since forgot the use of, or what it was to wear them.

I allotted the thin *English* stuffs, which I mentioned before, to make every one a light coat, like a frock, which I judged fittest for the heat of the season, cool and loose ; and ordered, that whenever they decayed, they should make more, as they thought fit. The like for pumps, shoes, stockings, and hats, &c.

I cannot express what pleasure, what satisfaction, sat upon the countenances of all these poor men, when they saw the care I had taken of them, and how well I had furnished them : they told me, I was a father to them ; and that, having such a correspondent as I was, in so remote a part of the world, it would make them forget that they were left in a desolate place ; and they all voluntarily engaged to me, not to leave the place without my consent.

Then I presented to them the people I had brought with me ; particularly the tailor, the smith, and the two carpenters, all of them most necessary people ; but above all, my general artificer, than whom they could not name any thing that was more useful

to them ; and the tailor, to shew his concern for them, went to work immediately, and with my leave, made them every one a shirt the first thing he did ; and, which was still more, he taught the women not only how to sew and stitch, and use the needle, but made them assist to make the shirts for their husbands, and for all the rest.

As to the carpenters, I scarce need mention how useful they were, for they took in pieces all my clumsy, unhandy things, and made them clever, convenient tables, stools, bedsteads, cupboards, lockers, shelves, and every thing they wanted of that kind.

But, to let them see how nature made artificers at first, I carried the carpenters to see *Will Atkins's* basket-house, as I called it ; and they both owned, they never saw an instance of such natural ingenuity before ; nor any thing so regular, and so handily built, at least of its kind : and one of them, when he saw it, after musing a good while, turning about to me, I am sure, says

them; for now they could march as I used to do, with a musket upon each shoulder, if there was occasion; and were able to fight 1,000 savages, if they had but some little advantages of situation; which also they could not miss of, if they had occasion.

I carried on shore with me the young man whose mother was starved to death, and the maid also; she was a sober, well-educated, religious young woman, and behaved so inoffensively, that every one gave her a good word. She had, indeed, an unhappy life with us, there being no woman in the ship but herself; but she bore it with patience. After a while, seeing things so well ordered, and in so fine a way of thriving upon my island, and considering that they had neither business or acquaintance in the *East Indies*, or reason for taking so long a voyage; I say, considering all this, both of them came to me, and desired I would give them leave to remain on the island, and be entered among my family, as they called it.

I agreed to it readily; and they had a little plat of ground allotted to them, where they had three tents or houses set up, surrounded with a basket-work, palisado'd like *Atkins's*, adjoining to his plantation; their tents were contrived so, that they had each of them a room, a part to lodge in, and a middle tent, like a great store-house, to lay all their goods in, and to eat and drink in. And now the other two *Englishmen* removed their habitation to the same place; and so the island was divided into three colonies, and no more; *viz.* The *Spaniards*, with old *Friday*, and the first servants, at my old habitation under the hill, which was, in a word, the capital city, and where they had so enlarged and extended their works, as well under as on the outside of the hill, that they lived, though perfectly concealed, yet full at large. Never was there such a little city in a wood, and so hid, I believe, in any part of the world. For I verily believe, 1,000 men might have ranged the island a month, and,

if they had not known there was such a thing, and looked on purpose for it, they would not have found it; for the trees stood so thick, and so close, and grew so fast matted into one another, that nothing but cutting them down first could discover the place, except the only two narrow entrances where they went in and out, could be found; which was not very easy. One of them was just down at the water edge of the creek; and it was afterwards above 200 yards to the place; and the other was up the ladder at twice, as I have already formerly described it; and they had a large wood, thick planted, also on the top of the hill, which contained above an acre, which grew apace, and covered the place from all discovery there, with only one narrow place between two trees, not easy to be discovered, to enter on that side.

The other colony was that of *W. Atkins's*, where there were four families of *Englishmen*, I mean those I had left there, with their wives and children; three savages, that were slaves, the

man, who, before I begin, I must (to set him out in just colours) represent in terms very much to his disadvantage, in the account of Protestants; as *first*, that he was a Papist; *secondly*, a Popish priest; and, *thirdly*, a French Popish priest.

But justice demands of me to give him a due character; and I must say, he was a grave, sober, pious, and most religious person; exact in his life, extensive in his charity, and exemplar in almost every thing he did. What, then, can any one say against my being very sensible of the value of such a man, notwithstanding his profession? Though it may be my opinion, perhaps, as well as the opinion of others, who shall read this, that he was mistaken.

The first hour that I began to converse with him, after he had agreed to go with me to the *East Indies*, I found reason to delight exceedingly in his conversation. And he first began with me about religion, in the most obliging manner imaginable.

Sir, says he, you have not only, under God (and at that he crossed his breast) saved my life, but you have admitted me to go this voyage in your ship, and by your obliging civility, have taken me into your family, giving me an opportunity of free conversation. Now, Sir, says he, you see by my habit what my profession is; and I guess by your nation, what your's is: I may think it is my duty, and doubtless it is so, to use my utmost endeavours, on all occasions, to bring all the souls I can to the knowledge of the truth, and to embrace the Catholic doctrine; but, as I am here under your permission, and in your family, I am bound in justice to your kindness, as well as in decency and good manners, to be under your government; and therefore I shall not, without your leave, enter into any debates on the point of religion, in which we may not agree, farther than you shall give me leave.

I told him, his carriage was so modest, that I could not but acknowledge it; that it was true, we were such people as they

call heretics ; but that he was not the first Catholic that I had conversed with, without falling into any inconveniences, or carrying the questions to any height in debate ; that he should not find himself the worse used for being of a different opinion from us ; and if we did not converse without any dislike on either side, upon that score, it should be his fault, not ours.

He replied, That he thought all our conversation might be easily separated from disputes ; that it was not his business to cap principles with every man he discoursed with ; and that he rather desired me to converse with him as a gentleman, than as a religieux : that if I would give him leave, at any time, to discourse upon religious subjects, he would readily comply with it ; and that then he did not doubt but I would allow him also to defend his own opinions, as well as he could : but that, without my leave, he would not break in upon me with any such thing.

He told me farther, that he would not cease to do all that became him in his office, as a priest, as well as a private Christian,

forced into *Lisbon* by bad weather, the ship received some damage, by running aground in the mouth of the river *Tagus*, and was obliged to unload her cargo there. That finding a Portuguese ship there, bound to the *Madeiras* and ready to sail, and supposing he should easily meet with a vessel there bound to *Martinico*, he went on board, in order to sail to the *Madeiras*; but the master of the Portuguese ship, being but an indifferent mariner, had been out in his reckoning, and they drove to *Fial*; where, however, he happened to find a very good market for his cargo, which was corn; and therefore resolved not to go to the *Madeiras*, but to load salt at the *Isle of May*, to go away to *Newfoundland*. He had no remedy in the exigence, but to go with the ship; and had a pretty good voyage as far as the *Banks* (so they call the place where they catch the fish), where meeting with a French ship bound from *France* to *Quebec*, in the river of *Canada*, and from thence to *Martinico*, to carry provisions, he thought he should have an opportunity to complete his first design. But when he came to *Quebec*, the master of the ship died, and the ship proceeded no farther. So the next voyage he shipped himself for *France*, in the ship that was burnt, when we took them up at sea, and then shipped with us for the *East Indies*, as I have already said. Thus he had been disappointed in five voyages, all, as I may call it, in one voyage, besides what I shall have occasion to mention farther of the same person.

But I shall not make digressions into other men's stories, which have no relation to my own. I return to what concerns our affair in the island. He came to me one morning, for he lodged among us all the while we were upon the island; and it happened to be just when I was going to visit the *Englishmen's* colony, at the furthest part of the island; I say, he came to me, and told me, with a very grave countenance, that he had, for two or three days, desired an opportunity of some discourse with me, which, he hoped, should not be displeasing to me, because

he thought it might, in some measure, correspond with my general design, which was the prosperity of my new colony ; and, perhaps, might put it, at least more than he yet thought it was, in the way of God's blessing.

I looked a little surprised at the last part of his discourse ; and turning a little short, *How, Sir, said I, can it be said*, that we are not in the way of God's blessing, after such *visible assistances, and wonderful deliverances*, as we have seen here, *and of which I have given you a large account* ?

If you had pleased, *Sir, said he, (with a world of modesty, and yet with great readiness)* to have heard me, you would have found no room to have been displeased, much less to think so hard of me that I should suggest, that you have not had wonderful assistances and deliverances. And, I hope, on your behalf, that you are in the way of God's blessing, and your design is exceeding good, and will prosper. But, *Sir, said he*, though it were more so, than is even possible to you, yet there

walked on, and I pressed him to be free and plain with me, in what he had to say.

Why then, Sir, says he, be pleased to give me leave to lay down a few propositions, as the foundation of what I have to say, that we may not differ in the general principles, though we may be of some differing opinions in the practice of particulars. First, Sir, though we differ in some of the doctrinal articles of religion, and it is very unhappy that it is so, especially in the case before us, as I shall shew afterwards; yet there are some general principles in which we both agree; viz. First, that there is a Gov, and that this Gov, having given us some stated general rules for our service and obedience, we ought not willingly and knowingly to offend him, either by neglecting to do what he has commanded, or by doing what he has expressly forbidden; and let our different religions be what they will, this general principle is readily owned by us all. That the blessing of Gov does not ordinarily follow a presumptuous sinning against his command; and every good Christian will be affectionately concerned to prevent any that are under his care living in a total neglect of God and his commands. It is not your men being Protestants, whatever my opinion may be of such, that discharge me from being concerned for their souls, and from endeavouring, if it lies before me, that they should live in as little distance from, and enmity with their Maker as possible; especially if you give me leave to meddle so far in your circuit.

I could not yet imagine what he aimed at, and told him I granted all he had said; and thanked him, that he would so far concern himself for us; and begged he would explain the particulars of what he had observed, that, like *Joshua*, (to take his own parable) I might put away the accursed thing from us.

Why then, Sir, says he, I will take the liberty you give me: and there are three things, which, if I am right, must stand in the way of God's blessing upon your endeavours here, and

which I should rejoice, for your sake, and their own, to see removed. And, Sir, says he, I promise myself that you will fully agree with me in them all, as soon as I name them ; especially, because I shall convince you, that every one of them may, with great ease, and very much to your satisfaction, be remedied.

He gave me no leave to put in any more civilities, but went on. *First, Sir, says he, you have here four Englishmen, who have fetched women from among the savages, and have taken them as their wives, and have had many children by them all, and yet are not married to them after any stated legal manner, as the laws of God and man require ; and therefore are yet, in the sense of both, no less than adulterers, and living in adultery.* To this, Sir, says he, I know you will object, that there was no clergyman, or priest of any kind, or of any profession, to perform the ceremony : nor any pen and ink, or paper, to write down a contract of marriage, and have it signed between them. And I know also, Sir, what the *Spaniard* governor has told you ; I mean of the agreement that he obliged them to make when they took these women, *viz.* That they should chuse them out by consent, and keep separately to them ; which, by the way, is nothing of a marriage, no agreement with the women as wives, but only an agreement among themselves, to keep them from quarrelling.

But, Sir, the essence of the sacrament of matrimony (so he called it, being a *Roman*) consists not only in the mutual consent of the parties to take one another as *man and wife*, but in the formal and legal obligation that there is in the contract, to compel the man and woman, at all times, to own and acknowledge each other ; obliging the men to abstain from all the other women, to engage in no other contract while these subsist ; and on all occasions, as ability allows, to provide honestly for them, and their children ; and to oblige the women to the same, or like conditions, *mutatis mutandis*, on their side.

Now, Sir, says he, these men may, when they please, or when occasion presents, abandon these women, disown their children, leave them to perish, and take other women, and marry them while these are living. And here he added, with some warmth, How, Sir, is God honoured in this unlawful liberty? And how shall a blessing succeed your endeavours in this place, however good in themselves, and however sincere in your design, while these men, who at present are your subjects, under your absolute government and dominion, are allowed by you to live in open adultery?

I confess, I was struck at the thing itself, but much more with the convincing arguments he supported it with: for it was certainly true, that though they had no clergyman on the spot, yet a formal contract on both sides, made before witnesses, and confirmed by any token, which they had all agreed to be bound by, though it had been but breaking a stick between them, engaging the men to own these women for their wives upon all occasions, and never to abandon them or their children, and the women to the same with their husbands, had been an effectual lawful marriage in the sight of God; and it was a great neglect that it was not done.

But I thought to have gotten off with my young priest, by telling him, that all that part was done when I was not here; and they had lived so many years with them now, that if it was an adultery, it was past remedy; they could do nothing in it now.

Sir, says he, asking your pardon for such freedom, you are right in this; that it being done in your absence, you could not be charged with that part of the crime. But I beseech you, flatter not yourself that you are not therefore under an obligation to do your uttermost now to put an end to it. How can you think, but that, let the time past lie on whom it will, all the guilt, for the future, will lie entirely upon you? Because it is certainly in

your power now to put an end to it ; and in nobody's power but your's.

I was so dull still, that I did not take him right ; but I imagined, that, by putting an end to it, he mean'd, that I should part them, and not suffer them to live together any longer ; and *I said to him*, I could not do that by any means, for that it would put the whole island into confusion. He seemed surprised that I should so far mistake him. No, Sir, *says he*, I do not mean that you should now separate them, but legally and effectually marry them now. And as, Sir, my way of marrying may not be so easy to reconcile them to, though it will be as effectual, even by your own laws ; so your way may be as well before God, and as valid among men ; I mean, by a written contract, signed by both man and woman, and by all the witnesses present ; which all the laws of *Europe* would decree to be valid.

I was amazed to see so much true piety, and so much sincerity of zeal, besides the unusual impartiality in his discourse, as to his own party or church, and such true warmth for the preserving people that he had no knowledge of, or relation to ; I say, for preserving them from transgressing the laws of God ; the like of which I had indeed not met with any where. But recollecting what he had said of marrying them by a written contract, which I knew would stand too, I returned it back upon him, and told him, I granted all that he had said to be just, and, on his part, very kind ; that I would discourse with the men upon the point now, when I came to them. And I knew no reason why they should scruple to let him marry them all ; which I knew well enough would be granted to be as authentic and valid in *England*, as if they were married by one of our own clergymen. What was afterwards done in this matter, I shall speak of by itself.

I then pressed him to tell me, what was *the second complaint* which he had to make ; acknowledging, that I was very much

his debtor for the first ; and thanked him heartily for it. He told me he would use the same freedom and plainness in the second ; and hoped I would take it as well : and this was, that notwithstanding these *English* subjects of mine, as he called them, had lived with those women for almost seven years, had taught them to speak *English*, and even to read it ; and that they were, as he perceived, women of tolerable understanding, and capable of instruction ; yet they had not to this hour taught them any thing of the Christian religion ; no, not so much to know that there was a God, or a worship, or in what manner God was to be served ; or that their own idolatry, and worshipping they knew not who, was false and absurd.

This, he said, was an unaccountable neglect, and what God would certainly call them to account for ; and, perhaps, at last take the work out of their hands. He spoke this very affectionately and warmly. I am persuaded, says *he*, had those men lived in the savage country, whence their wives came, the savages would have taken more pains to have brought them to be idolaters, and to worship the devil, than any of these men, *so far as he could see*, had taken with them, to teach them the knowledge of the true God. Now, Sir, said *he*, though I do not acknowledge your religion, or you mine, yet we should be glad to see the devil's servants, and the subjects of his kingdom, taught to know the general principles of the Christian religion ; that they might at least hear of God, and of a Redeemer, and of the resurrection, and of a future state, things which we all believe ; they had at least been so much nearer coming into the bosom of the true church, than they are now, in the public profession of idolatry, and devil-worship.

I could hold no longer ; I took him in my arms, and embraced him with an excess of passion : How far, said I to him, have I been from understanding the most essential part of a Christian, viz. to love the interest of the Christian church, and the good of

other men's souls ! I scarce have known what belongs to being a Christian. O, Sir, do not say so, *replied he* : this thing is not your fault. No, *said I*, but why did I never lay it to heart as well as you ? 'Tis not too late yet, *said he* ; be not too forward to condemn yourself. But what can be done now ? *said I* ; you see I am going away. Will you give me leave, *said he*, to talk with those poor men about it ? Yes, with all my heart, *said I* ; and will oblige them to give heed to what you say too. As to that, *said he*, we must leave them to the mercy of Christ ; but 'tis our business to assist them, encourage them, and instruct them ; and, if you will give me leave, and God his blessing, I do not doubt but the poor ignorant souls shall be brought home into the great circle of Christianity, if not into the particular faith that we all embrace ; and that even while you stay here. Upon this, *I said*, I shall not only give you leave, but give you a thousand thanks for it. What followed on this account I shall mention also again in its place.

Redeemer, that I wonder how you can pass such an occasion of doing good ; which is really worth the expense of a man's whole life.

I was now struck dumb indeed, and had not one word to say : I had here a spirit of true Christian zeal for God and religion before me, let his particular principles be of what kind soever. As for me, I had not so much as entertained a thought of this in my heart before ; and, I believe, should not have thought of it ; for I looked upon these savages as slaves, and people, who, had we any work for them to do, we would have used as such, or would have been glad to have transported them to any other part of the world ; for our business was to get rid of them ; and we would all have been satisfied, if they had been sent to any country, so they had never seen their own. *But, to the case :* I say, I was confounded at his discourse, and knew not what answer to make him. He looked earnestly at me, seeing me in some disorder : Sir, *says he*, I shall be very sorry, if what I have said gives you any offence. No, no, *says I*, I am offended with nobody but myself ; but I am perfectly confounded, not only to think that I should never take any notice of this before, but with reflecting what notice I am able to take of it now. You know, Sir, *said I*, what circumstances I am in ; I am bound to the *East Indies*, in a ship freighted by merchants, and to whom it would be an unsufferable piece of injustice to detain their ship here, the men lying all this while at victuals and wages upon the owner's account ; it is true, I agreed to be allowed twelve days here ; and if I stay more, I must pay *3l. sterling per diem* demurrage ; nor can I stay upon demurrage above eight days more ; and I have been here thirteen days already ; so that I am perfectly unable to engage in this work, unless I would suffer myself to be left behind here again ; in which case, if this single ship should miscarry in any part of her voyage, I should be just in the same condition that I was left in here at first ; and from which I have been so wonderfully delivered.

He owned the case was very hard upon me as to my voyage; but laid it home upon my conscience, whether the blessing of saving seven-and thirty souls was not worth my venturing all I had in the world for? I was not so sensible of that *as he was*: I returned upon him thus: Why, Sir, it is a valuable thing indeed, to be an instrument in God's hand, to convert seven-and-thirty heathens to the knowledge of Christ; but as you are an ecclesiastic, and are given over to the work, so that it seems naturally to fall into the way of your profession, how is it that you do not rather offer yourself to undertake it, than press me to it?

Upon this he faced about, just before me, as we walked along, and, putting me to a full stop, made me a very low bow. I most heartily thank God, and you, Sir, *says he*, for giving me so evident a call to so blessed a work; and if you think yourself discharged from it, and desire me to undertake it, I will most readily do it, and think it a happy reward for all the hazards and

He turned short upon me, and asked me, what I called a venture? Pray, Sir, said he, what do you think I consented to go in your ship to the East Indies for? Nay, said I, that I know not, unless it was to preach to the Indians. Doubtless it was, said he. And do you think, if I can convert these seven and-thirty men to the faith of Christ, it is not worth my time, though I should never be fetched off the island again? Nay, is it not infinitely of more worth to save so many souls, than my life is, or the life of twenty more of the same profession? Yes, Sir, says he, I would give Christ and the Blessed Virgin thanks all my days, if I could be made the least happy instrument of saving the souls of these poor men, though I was never to set my foot off of this island, or see my native country any more: but since you will honour me, says he, with putting me into this work (for which I will pray for you all the days of my life), I have one humble petition to you, said he, besides. What is that? said I. Why, says he, it is, that you will leave your man Friday with me, to be my interpreter to them, and to assist me; for, without some help, I cannot speak to them, or they to me.

I was sensibly troubled at his requesting Friday, because I could not think of parting with him, and that for many reasons: he had been the companion of my travels; he was not only faithful to me, but sincerely affectionate to the last degree; and I had resolved to do something considerable for him, if he out-lived me, as it was probable he would: then I knew, that as I had bred Friday up to be a Protestant, it would quite confound him, to bring him to embrace another profession; and he would never, while his eyes were open believe, his old master was a heretic, and would be damned; and this might in the end ruin the poor fellow's principles, and so turn him to his first idolatry.

However, a sudden thought relieved me in this strait, and it was this: I told him, I could not say that I was willing to part with Friday, on any account whatever; though a work, that so

him was of more value than his life, ought to be to me of much more value than the keeping or parting with a servant. But, on the other hand, I was persuaded that *Friday* would by no means consent to part with me; and I could not force him to it, without his consent, without manifest injustice; because I had promised I would never put him away; and he had promised and engaged to me that he would never leave me, unless I put him away.

He seemed very much concerned at it; for he had no rational access to these poor people, seeing he did not understand one word of their language, nor they one word of his. To remove this difficulty, I told him, *Friday's* father had learned Spanish, which I found he also understood; and he should serve him for an interpreter: so he was much better satisfied, and nothing could persuade him but he would stay to endeavour to convert them; but Providence gave another and very happy turn to all this.

as nobody to marry them ; that they agreed before the government to keep them as their wives, and to keep them, and own them, as their wives ; and they thought, as things stood with them, they were as legally married as if they had been married by a parson, and with all the formalities in the world.

I told them, that no doubt they were married in the sight of God, and were bound in conscience to keep them as their wives ; but that the laws of men being otherwise, they might pretend they were not married, and so desert the poor women and children hereafter ; and that their wives, being poor desolate women, friendless and moneyless, would have no way to help themselves. I therefore told them, that unless I was assured of their ~~best~~ intent, I could do nothing for them ; but would take care, at what I did should be for the women and their children, without them ; and that unless they would give some assurances that they would marry the women, I could not think it was convenient they should continue together as man and wife ; for that was both scandalous to men, and offensive to God, who they did not think would bless them, if they went on thus.

All this went on as I expected ; and they told me, especially Mr. Atkins, who seemed now to speak for the rest, that they had their wives as well as if they had been born in their own native country, and would not leave them upon any account whatever ; and they did verily believe their wives were as virtuous and as modest, and did, to the utmost of their skill, as much for them, and for their children, as any women could possibly do ; and they would not part with them on any account. And Mr. Atkins, for his own particular, added, if any man would take him away, and offer to carry him home to England, and make him captain of the best man of war in the navy, he would go with him, if he might not carry his wife and children with him ; and if there was a clergyman in the ship, he would be tried to her now with all his heart.

This was just as I would have it ; the priest was not with me at that moment, but was not far off. So, to try him farther, I told him I had a clergyman with me, and, if he was sincere, I would have him married the next morning ; and bid him consider of it, and talk with the rest. He said, as for himself, he need not consider of it at all ; for he was very ready to do it, and was glad I had a minister with me ; and he believed they would be all willing also. I then told him, that my friend, the minister, was a *Frenchman*, and could not speak *English* ; but that I would act the clerk between them. He never so much as asked me whether he was a Papist or Protestant ; which was indeed what I was afraid of. But, I say, they never inquired about it. So we parted. I went back to my clergyman ; and *Will Atkins* went in to talk with his companions. I desired the *French* gentleman not to say any thing to them till the business was thorough ripe ; and I told him what answer the men had given me.

Before I went from their quarter, they all came to me, and told me, they had been considering what I had said ; that they were very glad to hear I had a clergyman in my company ; and they were very willing to give me the satisfaction I desired, and to be formally married as soon as I pleased ; for they were far from desiring to part with their wives ; and that they meant nothing but what was very honest, when they chose them : so I appointed them to meet me the next morning ; and that, in the mean time, they should let their wives know the meaning of the marriage law ; and that it was not only to prevent any scandal, but also to oblige them, that they should not forsake them, whatever might happen.

The women were easily made sensible of the meaning of the thing, and were very well satisfied with it, as, indeed, they had reason to be ; so they failed not to attend all together, at my apartment, the next morning, where I brought out my clergy-

the name of *Christ*, whom they had, he doubted, heard nothing of, and without which they could not be baptized.

He told them, he doubted they were but indifferent Christians themselves ; that they had but little knowledge of God, or of his ways ; and therefore he could not expect, that they had said much to their wives on that head yet ; but that unless they would promise him to use their endeavour with their wives, to persuade them to become Christians, and would as well as they could instruct them in the knowledge and belief of God that made them, and to worship Jesus Christ that redeemed them, he could not marry them ; for he would have no hand in joining Christians with savages ; nor was it consistent with the principles of the Christian religion ; and was, indeed, expressly forbidden in God's law.

They heard all this very attentively, and I delivered it very faithfully to them, from his mouth, as near his own words as I could, only sometimes adding something of my own, to convince them how just it was, and how I was of his mind. And I always very faithfully distinguished between what I said from myself, and what were the clergyman's words. They told me, it was very true what the gentleman had said, that they were but very indifferent *Christians* themselves, and that they had never talked to their wives about religion. *Lord, Sir, says Will Atkins*, how should we teach them religion ? Why, we know nothing ourselves ; and besides, Sir, said he, should we go to talk to them of *God*, and *Jesus Christ*, and *heaven* and *hell*, it would be to make them laugh at us, and ask us, what we believe ourselves ? And if we should tell them, we believe all the things that we speak of to them, such as of good people going to *heaven*, and wicked people to the *devil*, they would ask us, where we intend to go ourselves, that believe all this, and are such wicked fellows, as we indeed are. Why, Sir, it is enough to give them a surfeit of religion, at first hearing ; folks must have some religion

This was just as I would have it ; the priest was not with me at that moment, but was not far off. So, to try him farther, I told him I had a clergyman with me, and, if he was sincere, I would have him married the next morning ; and bid him consider of it, and talk with the rest. He said, as for himself, he need not consider of it at all ; for he was very ready to do it, and was glad I had a minister with me ; and he believed they would be all willing also. I then told him, that my friend, the minister, was a *Frenchman*, and could not speak *English* ; but that I would act the clerk between them. He never so much as asked me whether he was a Papist or Protestant ; which was indeed what I was afraid of. But, I say, they never inquired about it. So we parted. I went back to my clergyman ; and *Will Atkins* went in to talk with his companions. I desired the *French* gentleman not to say any thing to them till the business was thorough ripe ; and I told him what answer the men had given me.

man: and though he had not on a minister's gown, after the manner of *England*, or the habit of a priest, after the manner of *France*; yet having a black vest, something like a cassock, with a sash round it, he did not look very unlike a minister; and as for his language, I was his interpreter.

But the seriousness of his behaviour to them, and the scruples he made of marrying the women, because they were not baptized, and professed *Christians*, gave them an exceeding reverence for his person; and there was no need after that to inquire whether he was a clergyman or no.

Indeed I was afraid his scruple would have been carried so far, as that he would not have married them at all: nay, notwithstanding all I was able to say to him, he resisted me, though modestly, yet very steadily; and at last, refused absolutely to marry them, unless he had first talked with the men, and the women too; and though at first I was a little backward to it, yet at last I agreed to it with a good will, perceiving the sincerity of his design.

When he came to them, he let them know that I had acquainted him with their circumstances, and with the present design; that he was very willing to perform that part of his function, and marry them, as I had desired; but that before he could do it, he must take the liberty to talk with them; he told them, that in the sight of all indifferent men, and in the sense of the laws of society, they had lived all this while in open adultery; and that it was true that nothing but the consenting to marry, or effectually separating them from one another now, could put an end to it; but there was a difficulty in it too, with respect to the laws of *Christian* matrimony, which he was not fully satisfied about, viz. That of marrying one that is a professed *Christian* to a savage, an idolater, and a heathen, one that is not baptized; and yet that he did not see that there was time left for it, to endeavour to persuade the women to be baptized, or to professa-

the name of *Christ*, whom they had, he doubted, heard nothing of, and without which they could not be baptized.

He told them, he doubted they were but indifferent Christians themselves ; that they had but little knowledge of God, or of his ways ; and therefore he could not expect, that they had said much to their wives on that head yet ; but that unless they would promise him to use their endeavour with their wives, to persuade them to become Christians, and would as well as they could instruct them in the knowledge and belief of God that made them, and to worship Jesus Christ that redeemed them, he could not marry them ; for he would have no hand in joining Christians with savages ; nor was it consistent with the principles of the Christian religion ; and was, indeed, expressly forbidden in God's law.

They heard all this very attentively, and I delivered it very faithfully to them, from his mouth, as near his own words as I could, only sometimes adding something of my own, to convince

themselves, before they pretend to teach other people.—*Will Atkins, said I to him*, though I am afraid what you say has too much truth in it, yet can you not tell your wife that she is in the wrong? that there is a God, and a religion better than her own; that her gods are idols; that they can neither hear or speak; that there is a great Being that made all things, and that can destroy all that he had made; that he rewards the good, and punishes the bad; and that we are to be judged by him, at last, for all we do here: you are not so ignorant, but even nature herself will teach you, that all this is true; and I am satisfied you know it all to be true, and believe it yourself.

That is true, Sir, said *Atkins*; but with what face can I say my thing to my wife of all this, when she will tell me immediately, it cannot be true?

Not true! said I, —what do you mean by that? Why, Sir, said he, she will tell me it cannot be true, that this God (I shall tell her of) can be just, or can punish or reward, since I am not punished, and sent to the devil, that have been such a wicked creature as she knows I have been, even to her, and to every body else; and that I should be suffered to live, that have been always living so contrary to what I must tell her is good, and to what ought to have done.

Why truly, *Atkins*, said I, I am afraid thou speakest too much truth: and with that I let the clergyman know what *Atkins* had said: for he was impatient to know. O! said the priest, tell him there is one thing will make him the best minister in the world to his wife, and that is *repentance*; for none such repentance like true penitents. He wants nothing but to repent, and then he will be so much the better qualified to instruct his wife; he will be then able to tell her, that there is not only a God, and that he is the just rewarder of good and evil; but that he is a merciful Being, and, with infinite goodness and long suffering, forbears to punish those that offend; waiting

to be gracious, and willing not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should return and live; that oftentimes suffers wicked men to go on for a long time, and even reserves damnation to the general day of retribution: that it is a clear evidence of God, and of a future state, that righteous men receive not their reward, or wicked men their punishment, till they come into another world; and this will lead him to teach his wife the doctrine of the resurrection, and of the last judgment; let him but repent for himself, he will be an excellent preacher of repentance to his wife.

I repeated all this to *Atkins*, who looked very serious all the while, and who, we could easily perceive, was more than ordinarily affected with it: when being eager and hardly suffering me to make an end—*I know all this, master, says he, and a great deal more*; but I have not the impudence to talk thus to my wife: when God, and my own conscience knows, and my wife will be an undeniable evidence against me, that I have lived as if I had never heard of a God, or future state, or anything above

nal destruction? That he was far from being easy; but that, the contrary, he believed it would one time or the other ruin

What do you mean by that? said I. Why, he said, he knew he should one day or other cut his throat, to put an end to the terror of it.

The clergyman shook his head, with a great concern in his looks, when I told him all this; but, turning quick to me upon it, says he, If that be his case, you may assure him it is not too late: Christ will give him repentance. But pray, says he, examine this to him, That as no man is saved but by Christ, and the merit of his passion, procuring divine mercy for him, how can it be too late for any man to receive mercy? Does he think he is able to sin beyond the power or reach of divine mercy? I tell him, There may be a time when provoked mercy will no longer strive, and when God may refuse to hear; but that it is never too late for men to ask mercy: and we that are Christ's servants are commanded so to preach mercy at all times, in the name of Jesus Christ, to all those that sincerely repent: so that 'tis never too late to repent.

I told Atkins all this, and he heard me with great earnestness; it seemed as if he turned off the discourse to the rest; for said to me, he would go and have some talk with his wife; so I went out awhile, and we talked to the rest. I perceived they were all stupidly ignorant, as to matters of religion; much as was when I went rambling away from my father: and yet there were none of them backward to hear what had been said; and all of them seriously promised, that they would talk with their wives about it, and do their endeavour to persuade them to turn Christians.

The clergyman smiled upon me, when I reported what answer I gave, but said nothing a good while; but at last, shaking his head, We that are Christ's servants, says he, can go no further

than to exhort and instruct; and when men comply, submit to the reproof, and promise what we ask, 'tis all we can do; we are bound to accept their good words; but, believe me, Sir, *said he*, whatever you may know of the life of that man you call *Will Atkins*, I believe he is the only sincere convert among them; I take that man to be a true penitent; I will not despair of the rest; but that man is apparently struck with the sense of his past life; and I doubt not, but when he comes to talk religion to his wife, he will talk himself effectually into it; for attempting to teach others is sometimes the best way of teaching ourselves. I knew a man, who having nothing but a summary notion of religion himself, and being wicked and profligate, to the last degree, in his life, made a thorough reformation in himself, by labouring to convert a *Jew*: if that poor *Atkins* begins but once to talk seriously of Jesus Christ to his wife, my life for it, he talks himself into a thorough convert, makes himself a penitent: and who knows what may follow?

ye they were, we stood and looked very steadily at them a ~~and~~ while.

We observed him very earnest with her, pointing up to the ~~and~~ and to every quarter of the heavens ; then down to the earth, ~~and~~ out to the sea, then to himself, then to her, to the ~~and~~ woods, to the trees. Now, says my clergyman, you see my ~~and~~ are made good ; the man preaches to her ; mark him ; he is telling her that our God has made him, and her, and ~~and~~ heavens, the earth, the sea, the woods, the trees, &c. I ~~and~~ he is, said I. Immediately we perceived Will Atkins ~~and~~ upon his feet, fall down on his knees, and lift up both ~~and~~ hands ; we suppose he said something, but we could not ~~and~~ him : it was too far for that : he did not continue kneeling ~~and~~ a minute, but comes and sits down again by his wife, and ~~and~~ to her again. We perceived then the woman very ~~and~~ ; but whether she said any thing or no, we could not tell. While the poor fellow was upon his knees, I could see the tears ~~and~~ plentifully down my clergyman's cheeks ; and I could ~~and~~ forbear myself ; but it was a great affliction to us both, ~~and~~ we were not near enough to hear any thing that passed ~~and~~ them.

Well, however, we could come no nearer, for fear of disturbing ~~and~~ : so we resolved to see an end of this piece of *still conversation* ; and it spoke loud enough to us, without the help of voice. I sat down again, as I have said, close by her, and talked again ~~and~~ testily to her ; and two or three times we could see him embrac~~e~~ her most passionately ; another time we saw him take out handkerchief, and wipe her eyes, and then kiss her again, ~~and~~ a kind of transport very unusual ; and after several of these ~~and~~ings, we see him on a sudden jump up again, and lend her his ~~and~~ to help her up ; when immediately leading her by the hand ~~and~~ or two, they both kneeled down together, and continued ~~and~~ about two minutes.

My friend could bear it no longer, but cries out aloud, St. Paul, St. Paul! behold he prayeth!—I was afraid *Atkins* would hear him; therefore I entreated him to withhold himself awhile, that we might see an end of the scene, which to me, I must confess, was the most affecting, and yet the most agreeable, that ever saw in my life. Well, he strove with himself, and contained himself for a while, but was in such raptures of joy to think that the poor heathen woman was become a Christian, that he was not able to contain himself; he wept several times: then throwing up his hands, and crossing his breast, said over several things ejaculatory, and by way of giving God thanks for so miraculous a testimony of the success of our endeavours: some he spoke softly, and I could not well hear; others audibly; some in *Latin*, some in *French*; then two or three times the tears of joy would interrupt him, that he could not speak at all. But I begged that he would compose himself, and let us more narrowly and fully observe what was before us, which he did for a time,

and the scene was not ended there; for after the

example, work upon some of the other? Some of them! he, turning quick upon me, ay, upon all of them: depend upon those two savages (for he has been but little better, as you see it), should embrace Jesus Christ, they will never leave till I work upon all the rest; for true religion is naturally coninuative; and he that is once made a Christian will never leave a man behind him, if he can help it. I owned it was a most Christian principle to think so, and a testimony of a true zeal, as I as a generous heart, in him. But, my friend, said I, will it give me leave to start one difficulty here: I cannot tell how to object the least thing against that affectionate concern which I shew for the turning the poor people from their paganism to Christian religion: but how does this comfort you, while these people are, in your account, out of the pale of the Catholic church, without which you believe there is no salvation; so that you esteem these but heretics; and, for other reasons, as actually lost as the pagans themselves?

To this he answered with abundance of candour and Christian piety, thus. Sir, I am a Catholic of the *Roman* church, and a son of the order of St. Benedict, and I embrace all the principles of the *Roman* faith. But yet, if you will believe me, and if I do not speak in compliment to you, or in respect to my circumstances, and your civilities; I say, nevertheless, I do not look on you, who call yourselves reformed, without some charity. I do not say, though I know it is our opinion in general; I say, I do not say, that you cannot be saved; I will by no means put the mercy of Christ, so far as to think that he cannot receive you into the bosom of his church, in a manner, to us, unseemly, and which it is impossible for us to know; and I beseech you have the same charity for us. I pray daily for your being all restored to Christ's church, by whatsoever methods he, who is all wise, is pleased to direct. In the mean time, sure, I will allow it to consist with me, as a Roman, to distinguish

far between a Protestant and a Pagan: between one that calls on Jesus Christ, though in a way which I do not think is according to the true faith, and a savage, a barbarian, that knows no God, no Christ, no Redeemer. And if you are not within the pale of the Catholic church, we hope you are nearer being restored to it, than those that know nothing of God, or his church. And I rejoice, therefore, when I see this poor man, who, you say, has been a profligate, and almost a murderer, kneel down and pray to Jesus Christ, as we suppose he did, though not fully enlightened; believing that God, from whom every such work proceeds, will sensibly touch his heart, and bring him to the farther knowledge of the truth in his own time: and if God shall influence this poor man to convert and instruct the ignorant savage his wife, I can never believe that he shall be cast away himself: and have I not reason then to rejoice, the nearer any are brought to the knowledge of Christ, though they may not be brought quite home into the bosom

principles ; and, in a word, as he thought that the like charity would make us all Catholics, so I told him, I believed, had all the members of his church the like moderation, they would soon be all Protestants. And there we left that part, for we never disputed at all.

However, I talked to him another way ; and, taking him by the hand, My friend, says I, I wish all the clergy of the Roman church were blessed with such moderation, and had an equal share of your charity. I am entirely of your opinion ; but I must tell you, that if you should preach such doctrine in *Spain* or *Italy*, they would put you into the *inquisition*.

It may be so, said he ; I know not what they might do in *Spain* or *Italy* ; but I will not say they would be the better Christians for that severity ; for I am sure there is no heresy in too much charity.

Well, as *Will Atkins* and his wife was gone, our business there was over ; so we went back our own way ; and when we came back, we found them waiting to be called in. Observing this, I asked my clergyman if we should discover to him that we had seen him under the bush, or no ; and it was his opinion we should not ; but that we should talk to him first, and hear what he would say to us : so we called him in alone, nobody being in the place but ourselves ; and I began with him thus.

*Will Atkins*, said I, prithee what education had you ? What was your father ?

*W. A.* A better man than ever I shall be. *Sir, my father was a clergyman.*

*R. C.* What education did he give you ?

*W. A.* He would have taught me well, *Sir* ; but I despised all education, instruction, or correction, like a beast as I was.

*R. C.* It's true, *Solomon* says, “ *he that despises reproof is brutish.* ”

*W. A.* Ay, *Sir*, I was brutish indeed ; I murdered my father.

... No, no, Sir, I do not understand you; you did not kill your own hands?

*W. A.* No, Sir; I did not cut the thread of all his comforts, and shot his heart by the most ungrateful, unnatural, affectionate treatment that ever I received.

*R. C.* Well, I did not ask you this confession; I pray God give you forgiveness for that, and all your other sins, because I see that though you have not been so ignorant as some are, in this you have known more of religion and practised.

*W. A.* Though you, Sir, did not make any confession about my father, conscience does not allow us to look back upon our lives, the sins of which are ~~certainty~~ <sup>certainty</sup>."

my ingratitude, and base usage of a good tender father; a  
her much like yours, by your description; and I murdered  
father as well as you, *Will Atkins*; but I think, for all that,  
repentance is short of yours too, by a great deal.

[*I would have said more, if I could have restrained my pa-  
-tris; but I thought this poor man's repentance was so much sin-  
-ter than mine, that I was going to leave off the discourse, and  
-tre, for I was surprised with what he said; and thought that  
-ead of my going about to teach and instruct him, the man was  
-as a teacher and instructor to me, in a most surprising and  
-expected manner.*]

I laid all this before the young clergyman, who was greatly  
seted with it, and said to me, Did I not say, Sir, that when  
a man was converted, he would preach to us all? I tell you,  
, if this one man be made a true penitent, here will be no  
end of me; he will make Christians of all in the island. But  
ting a little composed myself, I renewed my discourse with  
*Will Atkins*.

But *Will*, said I, how comes the sense of this matter to touch  
you just now?

*W. A.* Sir, you have set me about a work that has struck a  
blow through my very soul; I have been talking about God and  
igion to my wife, in order, as you directed me, to make a  
Christian of her; and she has preached such a sermon to me as  
I shall never forget while I live.

*R. C.* No, no; it is not your wife has preached to you: but  
you were moving religious arguments to her, conscience  
flung them back upon you.

*W. A.* Ay, Sir, with such a force as is not to be resisted.

*R. C.* Pray, *Will*, let us know what passed between you and  
your wife; for I know something of it already.

*W. A.* Sir, it is impossible to give you a full account of it: I  
am too full to hold it, and yet have no tongue to express: but

*W. A.* Why, I first told her marriage, and what the reasons we obliged to enter into such comp power of one or other to break ; tice could not be maintained, and wives, and abandon their children another, and neither families be ke settled by legal descent.

*R. C.* You talk like a civilian, I understand what you meant by inher know no such thing among the say without regard to relation, consang and sister, nay, as I have been told, e and son and the mother.

*W. A.* I believe, Sir, you are misinf me of the contrary, and that they a farther relations, they may not be s tells me they never -

here we had a strange talk together indeed, as ever man and wife had, I believe.

[N.B. This dialogue between W. Atkins and his wife, as I took it down in writing, just after he told it me, was as follows.]

*Wife.* Appointed by your God! Why, have you a God in your country?

*W. A.* Yes, my dear, God is in every country.

*Wife.* No you God in my country; my country have the great old Benamuckee God.

*W. A.* Child, I am very unfit to shew you who God is; God is in heaven, and made the heaven and the earth, the sea, and all that in them is.

*Wife.* No makee de earth; no you God make all earth; no make my country.

[W. A. laughed a little at her expression of God not making her country.]

*Wife.* No laugh. Why laugh me? This no thing to laugh.

[He was justly reproofed by his wife; for she was more serious than he at first.]

*W. A.* That is true indeed, I will not laugh any more, my dear.

*Wife.* Why you say, you God make all?

*W. A.* Yes, child, our God made the whole world, and you, and I, and all things; for he is the only true God; there is no God but him; he lives for ever in heaven.

*Wife.* Why you no tell me long ago?

*W. A.* That is true indeed; but I have been a wicked wretch, and have not only forgotten to acquaint thee with any thing before, but have lived without God in the world myself.

*Wife.* What have you de great God in you country, you no know him? No say O to him? No do good thing for him? That no possible!

*W. A.* It is too true; though, for all that, we live as if there was no God in heaven, or that he had no power on earth.

*Wife.* But why God let you do so? Why he no makee you good live?

*W. A.* It is all our own fault.

*Wife.* But you say me, he is great, much great, have much great power; can makee kill when he will: why he no make kill when you no serve him? No say O to him? No be good mans?

*W. A.* That is true; he might strike me dead, and I ought to expect it; for I have been a wicked wretch, that is true; but God is merciful, and does not deal with us as we deserve.

*Wife.* But then, do not you tell God tankee for that too?

*W. A.* No, indeed; I have not thanked God for his mercy, any more than I have feared God for his power.

*Wife.* Than you God no God; me no think, believe he be such one, great much power, strong; no makee kill you, though you makee him much angry?

proves him to be the true God: He is God, and not man; and therefore we are not consumed.

[Here Will Atkins told us, he was struck with horror to think how he could tell his wife so clearly, that God sees, and hears, and knows the secret thoughts of the heart, and all that we do; and yet that he had dared to do all the vile things he had done.]

Wife. Merciful! what you call that?

W. A. He is our father and maker; and he pities and spares us.

Wife. So then he never makee kill, never angry when you do wicked, then he no good himself, or no great able.

W. A. Yes, yes, my dear; he is infinitely good, and infinitely great, and able to punish too; and sometimes to shew his justice and vengeance, he lets fly his anger to destroy sinners, and make examples: many are cut off in their sins.

Wife. But no make kill you yet; then he tell you, *may be*, that he no make you kill, so you make de bargain with him, you do bad thing, he no be angry at you, when he be angry at other mans?

W. A. No, indeed, my sins are all presumptions upon his goodness; and he would be infinitely just, if he destroyed me, as he has done other men.

Wife. Well, and yet no kill, no makee you dead! What you say to him for that? You no tell him tankee for all that too!

W. A. I am an unthankful, ungrateful dog, that is true.

Wife. Why he no makee you much good better? You say he makee you.

W. A. He made me as he made all the world? it is I have deformed myself, and abused his goodness, and made myself an abominable wretch.

Wife. I wish you makee God know me; I no makee him angry; I no do bad wicked thing.

*W. A.* My dear, you mean yo  
know God, not God to know you,  
and every thought in your heart.

*Wife.* Why then he know what  
me wish to know him ; how shall m

*W. A.* Poor creature, he must  
thee ; I'll pray to him to teach thee  
give me, that I am unworthy to teac.

*[The poor fellow was in such an a-  
make her know God, and her wishing  
he fell down on his knees before her, an-  
her mind with the saving knowledge of  
his sins, and accept of his being the  
structing her in the principles of religio-  
by her again, and their dialogue went i-*

N.B. This was the time when we  
hold up his hands.

*Wife.* What you want a--

understanding, that you may know him, and be accepted by him.

*Wife.* Can he do that too?

*W. A.* Yes, he can; he can do all things.

*Wife.* But now he hear what you say?

*W. A.* Yes, he has bid us pray to him; and promised to hear us.

*Wife.* Bid you pray? When he bid you? How he bid you? What! you hear him speak?

*W. A.* No, we do not hear him speak; but he has revealed himself many ways to us.

*[Here he was at a great loss to make her understand that God has revealed himself to us by his word; and what his word was; but at last he told it her thus:]*

*W. A.* God has spoken to some good men in former days, even from heaven, by plain words; and God has inspired good men, by his Spirit; and they have written all his laws down in a book.

*Wife.* Me no understand that; where is book?

*W. A.* Alas! my poor creature, I have not this book; but I hope I shall, one time or other, get it for you, and help you to read it.

*[Here he embraced her with great affection; but with inexpressible grief, that he had not a bible.]*

*Wife.* But how you makee me know, that God teachee them to write that book?

*W. A.* By the same rule that we know him to be God.

*Wife.* What rule; what way you know?

*W. A.* Because he teaches and commands nothing but what is good, righteous, and holy; and tends to make us perfectly good, as well as perfectly happy; and because he forbids and commands us to avoid all that is wicked, that is evil in itself, or evil in its consequence.

me say O to him too, with you, m

Here the poor man could forbear  
up, made her kneel by him ; and  
instruct her in the knowledge of him  
by some good providence, if possible  
other come to have a bible, that  
God, and be taught by it to know h

This was the time that we saw h  
and saw him kneel down by her as at

They had several other discourse  
long to set down here ; and particula  
that since he confessed his own life h  
ble course of provocations against Go  
and not make God angry any more, le  
as she called it, and then she should  
taught to know this God better ; and  
as he told her wicked men should be

This was a strange account

I agreed with him in that part readily, and was for going about it presently. No, no : hold, Sir, *said he*, though I would have her be baptized by all means, yet I must observe, that *Will Atkins*, her husband, has indeed brought her, in a wonderful manner, to be willing to embrace a religious life ; and has given her just ideas of the being of a God, of his power, justice, mercy ; yet I desire to know of him, if he has said any thing to her of Jesus Christ, and of the salvation of sinners ; of the nature of faith in him ; and redemption by him ; of the Holy Spirit, the resurrection, the last judgment, and a future state.

I called *Will Atkins* again, and asked him : but the poor fellow fell immediately into tears, and told us, he had said something to her of all those things, but that he was himself so wicked a creature, and his own conscience so reproached him with his horrid ungodly life, that he trembled at the apprehensions, that her knowledge of him should lessen the attention she should give to those things, and make her rather contemn religion than receive it : but he was assured, he said, that her mind was so disposed to receive due impressions of all those things, that if I would but discourse with her, she would make it appear to my satisfaction, that my labour would not be lost upon her.

Accordingly I called her in, and placing myself as interpreter, between my religious priest and the woman, I entreated him to begin with her. but sure such a sermon was never preached by a pupish priest in these latter ages of the world ; and, as I told him, I thought he had all the zeal, all the knowledge, all the sincerity of a Christian, without the errors of a *Roman* Catholic ; and that I took him to be such a clergyman as the *Roman* bishops were, before the church of *Rome* assumed spiritual sovereignty over the consciences of men.

In a word, he brought the poor woman to embrace the knowledge of Christ, and of redemption by him, not with wonder and astonishment only, as she did the first notion of a God,

among us in that very religion which in. He told me that as he had no per things for the office, I should see that I should not know by it that he self, if I had not known it before: only some words over to himself it understand, he poured a whole dis woman's head, pronouncing in *Frenc* was the name her husband desired me godfather, I baptize thee in the name Son, and of the Holy Ghost; so th thing by it, what religion he was of: afterwards in *Latin*; but either *Will* it was in *French*, or else did not take

As soon as this was over, we mar marriage was over, he turned himself very affectionate manner exhorted him that good disposition he was in

He said a great many good things to them both, and then recommending them, in a few words, to God's goodness; gave them the benediction again, I repeating every thing to them in English. And thus ended the ceremony. I think it was the most pleasant, agreeable day to me, that ever I passed in my whole life.

But my clergyman had not done yet, his thoughts hung continually upon the conversion of the seven and thirty savages; and fain he would have staid upon the island to have undertaken it: but I convinced him, first, that his undertaking was impracticable in itself; and secondly, that perhaps I would put it into a way of being done, in his absence, to his satisfaction; of which by and by.

Having thus brought the affair of the island to a narrow compass. I was preparing to go on board the ship, when the young man, who I had taken out of the famished ship's company, came to me, and told me, he understood I had a clergyman with me, and that I had caused the Englishmen to be married to the savages, whom they called wives; that he had a match too, which he desired might be finished before I went, between two Christians; which he hoped would not be disagreeable to me.

I knew this must be the young woman who was his mother's servant, for there was no other Christian woman on the island; so I began to persuade him not to do any thing of that kind rashly, or because he found himself in this solitary circumstance. I represented to him, that he had some considerable substance in the world and good friends, as I understood by himself, and by his maid also; that the maid was not only poor, and a servant, but was unequal to him, she being six or seven and twenty years old, and he not above seventeen or eighteen; that he might very probably, with my assistance, make a remove from this wilderness, and come into his own country again; and that then it

would be a thousand to one but he would repent his choice; and the dislike of that circumstance might be disadvantageous to both. I was going to say more, but he interrupted me, smiling; and told me, with a great deal of modesty, that I mistook in my guesses; that he had nothing of that kind in his thoughts, his present circumstance being melancholy and disconsolate enough; and he was very glad to hear, that I had thoughts of putting them in a way to see their country again; and nothing should have put him upon staying there, but that the voyage I was going was so exceeding long and hazardous, and would carry him quite out of the reach of all his friends; that he had nothing to desire of me, but that I would settle him in some little property in the island where he was; give him a servant or two, and some few necessaries, and he would settle himself like a planter, waiting the good time when, if ever I returned to *England*, I would redeem him, and hoped I would not be unmindful of him when I came into *England*; that he

indeed I thought it very suitable. The character of that man I have given already ; and as for the maid, she was a very honest, modest, sober, and religious young woman ; had a very good share of sense ; was agreeable enough in her person ; spoke very handsomely, and to the purpose ; always with decency and good manners, and not backwards to speak when any thing required it, or impertinently forward to speak when it was not her business ; very handy and housewifely in any thing that was before her ; an excellent manager, and fit indeed to have been governess to the whole island ; she knew very well how to behave to all kind of folks she had about her, and to better, if she had found any there.

The match being proposed in this manner, we married them the same day ; and, as I was father at the altar, as I may say, and gave her away, so I gave her a portion ; for I appointed her and her husband a handsome large space of ground for their plantation ; and, indeed this match, and the proposal the young gentleman made, to give him a small property in the island, put me upon parcelling it out amongst them, that they might not quarrel afterwards about their situation.

This sharing out the land to them I left to *Will Atkins*, who, indeed, was now grown a most sober, grave, managing fellow ; perfectly reformed, exceeding pious and religious ; and, as far as I may be allowed to speak positively in such a case, I verily believe, was a true sincere penitent.

He divided things so justly, and so much to every one's satisfaction, that they only desired one general writing under my hand for the whole ; which I caused to be drawn up, and signed and sealed to them, setting out the bounds and situation of every man's plantation, and testifying, that I gave them thereby, severally, a right to the whole possession and the inheritance of the respective plantations or farms, with their improvements, to them and their heirs ; reserving all the rest of the island as my own.

...-B. GOVERNOR WITH OR  
to leave them.

One thing I must not omit; ar-  
tied in a kind of commonwealth a  
much business in hand, it was but  
*Indians* live in a nook of the island  
unemployed; for, excepting the  
which they had difficulty enough in  
manner of business or property to n  
to the governor *Spaniard*, that he s  
*day's* father, and propose to them  
for themselves, or take them into t  
vants, to be maintained for their labo  
lute slaves; for I would not admit th  
force, by any means, because they h  
by capitulation, and, as it were, artic  
ought not to break.

They most willingly embraced the  
cheerfully alone with L.

*W. Atkins* and his comrades began, and came on southward and south-west, towards the back part of the *Spaniards*; and every plantation had a great addition of land to take in, if they found occasion; so that they need not jostle one another for want of room.

All the east end of the island was left uninhabited, that if any of the savages should come on shore there, only for their usual customary barbarities, they might come and go; if they disturbed nobody, nobody would disturb them; and no doubt but they were often ashore, and went away again; for I never heard that the planters were ever attacked or disturbed any more.

It now came into my thoughts, that I had hinted to my friend the clergyman, that the work of converting the savages might, perhaps, be set on foot in his absence, to his satisfaction; and I told him, that now I thought it was put in a fair way; for the savages being thus divided among the Christians, if they would but every one of them do their part with those which came under their hands, I hoped it might have a very good effect.

He agreed presently in that: If, said he, they will do their part; but how, says he, shall we obtain that of them? I told him, we would call them all together, and leave it in charge with them, or go to them one by one, which he thought best; so we divided it; he to speak to the *Spaniards*, who were all Papists; and I to the *English*, who were all Protestants; and we recommended it earnestly to them, and made them promise, that they would never make any distinction of Papist or Protestant, in their exhorting the savages to turn Christians; but teach them the general knowledge of the true God, and of their Saviour Jesus Christ; and they likewise promised us, that they would never have any differences or disputes, one with another, about religion.

When I came to *W. Atkins's* house, I may call it so; for such a house, or such a piece of basket-work, I believe was not stand-

ing in the world again ; 'I say, when I came there, I found the young woman I have mentioned above, and *W. Atkins's* wife, ~~were~~ become intimates ; and this prudent, religious young woman had perfected the work *Will Atkins* had begun ; and though it was not above four days after what I have related, yet the new-baptized savage woman was made such a Christian, as I have seldom heard of any like her, in all my observation or conversation in the world.

It came next into my mind, in the morning, before I went to them, that amongst all the needful things I had to leave with them, I had not left them a bible ; in which I shewed myself less considering for them, than my good friend the widow was for me, when she sent me the cargo of an hundred pounds from *Lisbon*, where she packed up three bibles and a prayer-book. However the good woman's charity had a greater extent than ever she imagined ; for they were reserved for the comfort and instruction of those that made much better use of them than I

We talked a little, and I did not perceive they had any book among them, though I did not ask; but I put my hand in my pocket, and pulled out my bible. Here, says I, to Atkins, I have brought you an assistant, that, perhaps, you had not before. The man was so confounded, that he was not able to speak for some time; but recovering himself, he takes it with both his hands, and turning to his wife, Here, my dear, says he, did not I tell you, our God, though he lives above, could hear what we said? Here's the book I prayed for, when you and I kneeled down under the bush; now God has heard us and sent it. When he had said thus, the man fell into such transports of a passionate joy, that between the joy of having it, and giving God thanks for it, the tears ran down his face like a child that was crying.

The woman was surprised, and was like to have run into a mistake, that none of us were aware of; for she firmly believed God had sent the book upon her husband's petition. It is true, that providentially it was so, and might be taken so in a conscient sense; but I believe it would have been no difficult matter at that time, to have persuaded the poor woman to have believed, an express messenger came from heaven, on purpose to bring her an individual book; but it was too serious a matter to suffer delusion to take place. So I turned to the young woman, told her we did not desire to impose upon the new convert, her first and more ignorant understanding of things; and desired her to explain to her, that God may be very properly pleased to answer our petitions, when, in the course of his Providence, such things are, in a particular manner, brought to pass, as we petitioned for; but we do not expect returns from Heaven in a miraculous and particular manner; and that it is our duty to believe that it is not so.

The young woman did afterwards effectually; so that I assure you, no priesthood used here; and I should have thought it one of the most unjustifiable frauds in the world.

yet this man is a standing rule to the children, *viz.* that parents should instruct, or ever despair of the success the children be ever so obstinate, insensible of instruction; for if it touches the consciences of such, it returns upon them, and the early loss, though it may have been in some time or other they may find the

Thus it was with this poor man, or divested of religion and Christian some to do with now, more ignorant least part of the instruction of his god come to his mind, was of use to him.

Among the rest it occurred to him used to insist much upon the inexplicable privilege and blessing of it to natural but he never entertained the least no

I have related to what extremity the poor young woman was reduced; how her mistress was starved to death, and did die, on board that unhappy ship we met at sea; and how the whole ship's company being reduced to the last extremity, the gentle woman, and her son, and this maid, were first hardly used, as to provisions, and at last, totally neglected and starved; that is to say, brought to the last extremity of hunger.

One day, being discoursing with her upon the extremities they suffered, I asked her if she could describe, by what she had felt, what it was to starve, and how it appeared? She told me, she believed she could; and she told her tale very distinctly thus.

"First, Sir, said she, we had for some days fared exceeding hard, and suffered very great hunger; but now, at last, we were wholly without food of any kind, except sugar, and a little wine, and a little water. The first day after I had received no food at all, I found myself towards evening, first empty and sickish at my stomach; and nearer night, mightily inclined to yawning, and sleepy; I laid down on a couch in the great cabin to sleep; and slept about three hours, and awaked a little refreshed, having taken a glass of wine when I lay down: after being about three hours awake, it being about five o'clock in the morning, I found myself empty, and my stomach sickish, and laid down again; but could not sleep at all, being very faint and ill; and thus I continued all the second day, with a strange variety; first hungry, then sick again, with reachings to vomit: the second night, being obliged to go to bed again, without any food more than a draught of fair water, and being asleep, I dreamed I was at Barbadoes, and that the market was mightily stocked with provisions; that I bought some for my mistress, and went and dined very heartily.

"I thought my stomach was as full after this, as any would have been after, or at a good dinner; but when I waked, I was exceedingly sunk in my spirits to find myself in the extremity of

“ The third day in the mornin,  
confused inconsistent dreams, and  
waked, ravenous and furious with  
not my understanding returned,  
question whether, if I had been a  
child with me, its life would have

“ This lasted about three hours  
twice raging mad, as any creature  
master told me, and as he can now

“ In one of these fits of lunacy,  
motion of the ship, or some slip of  
down, and struck my face against  
which my mistress lay ; and with  
out of my nose ; and the cabin-boy  
I sat down and bled into it a great  
from me, I came to myself ; and the  
the fever I was in, abated, and so  
hunger.

another draught of water, with sugar in it, but my stomach loathed the sugar, and brought it all up again. Then I took a draught of water, without sugar, and that stayed with me; and I laid me down upon the bed, praying most heartily, that it would please God to take me away, and composing my mind in hopes of it, I slumbered awhile; and then waking, thought myself dying, being light with vapours from an empty stomach. I recommended my soul then to God, and earnestly wished that somebody would throw me into the sea.

" All this while my mistress lay by me, just, as I thought, expiring; but bore it with much more patience than I, and gave the last bit of bread she had left to her child, my young master, who would not have taken it, but she obliged him to eat it; and, I believe, it saved his life.

" Towards the morning, I slept again; and first, when I waked, I fell into a violent passion of crying; and after that, had a second fit of violent hunger; I got up ravenous, and in a most dreadful condition. Had my mistress been dead, as much as I loved her, I am certain I should have eaten a piece of her flesh with as much relish, and as unconcerned, as ever I did the flesh of any creature appointed for food; and once or twice I was going to bite my own arm. At last, I saw the basin, in which was the blood I had bled at my nose the day before; I ran to it, and swallowed it with such haste, and such a greedy appetite, as if I had wondered nobody had taken it before, and afraid it should be taken from me now.

" Though after it was down the thoughts of it filled me with horror, yet it checked the fit of hunger; and I drank a draught of fair water, and was composed and refreshed for some hours after it. This was the fourth day; and thus I held it till towards night, when, within the compass of three hours, I had all these several circumstances over again, one after another; viz. sick, sleepy, eagerly hungry, pain in the stomach, then

and in this condition I lay till m  
a little with the cries and lamen  
who called out to me, that his  
myself up a little, for I had not  
she was not dead, though she was  
of life.

" I had then such convulsions i  
some sustenance, that I cannot de  
throes and pangs of appetite, that  
death can imitate; and in this cond  
seamen above cry out, *A sail!* a  
about as if they were distracted.

" I was not able to get off from  
much less; and my young master w  
had been expiring; so we could not  
any account what it was that occ  
nor had we any conversation with  
days, they having said .. .

to be a true account, because the youth gave me an account of a good part of it; though I must own, not so distinct, and so feebly as his maid; and the rather, because, it seems, his mother fed him at the price of her own life: but the poor maid, though her constitution being stronger than that of her mistress, who was in years, and a weakly woman too, she might struggle harder with it; I say, the poor maid might be supposed to feel the extremity something sooner than her mistress, who might be allowed to keep the last bits something longer than she parted with any to relieve the maid. No question, as the case is here related, if our ship, or some other, had not so providentially met them, a few days more would have ended all their lives, unless they had prevented it by eating one another; and even that, as their case stood, would have served them but a little while, they being 500 leagues from any land, or any possibility of relief, other than in the miraculous manner it happened.—But this is by the way; I return to my disposition of things among the people.

And *first*, it is to be observed here, that for many reasons, I did not think fit to let them know anything of the sloop I had framed, and which I thought of setting up among them; for I found, *at least at my first coming*, such seeds of divisions among them, that I saw it plainly, had I set up the sloop, and left it among them, they would, upon very light disgust, have separated, and gone away from one another; or perhaps have turned pirates, and so made the island a den of thieves, instead of a plantation of sober and religious people, so as I intended it; nor did I leave the two pieces of brass cannon that I had on board, or the two quarter-deck guns that my nephew took extraordinarily, for the same reason. I thought it was enough to qualify them for a defensive war, against any that should invade them; but not to set them up for an offensive war, or to encourage them to go abroad to attack others, which, in the end, would

I came to remove them, I promi  
from the *Brasils*, if I could poss  
particularly I promised to send the  
hogs, and cows; for as to the 1  
brought from *England*, we had b  
our voyage, to kill them at sea, fo

The next day, giving them a sa  
we set sail, and arrived at the bay  
in about twenty-two days: meetin  
passage but this. That about thn  
becalmed, and the current setting st  
as it were, into a bay or gulph, on  
something out of our course; and  
Land, to the eastward; but wheti  
islands, we could not tell by any m

But the third day, towards even  
weather calm, we saw the sea, as i  
land, with something ~~near~~ <sup>near</sup> 11-1

I was a little surprised then, indeed, and so was my nephew the captain ; for he had heard such terrible stories of them in the island, and having never been in those seas before, that he could not tell what to think of it, but said two or three times, we shall all be devoured. I must confess, considering we were becalmed, and the current set strong towards the shore, I liked it the worse ; however, I bade him not be afraid, but bring the ship to an anchor, as soon as we came so near to know that we must engage them.

The weather continued calm, and they came on apace towards us ; so I gave order to come to an anchor, and furl all our sails. As for the savages, I told them they had nothing to fear but fire ; and therefore they should get their boats out, and fasten them, one close by the head, and the other by the stern, and man them both well, and wait the issue in that posture : this I did, that the men in the boats might be ready, with skeets and buckets, to put out any fire these savages might endeavour to fix to the outside of the ship.

In this posture we lay by for them, and in a little while they came up with us, but never was such a horrid sight seen by Christians. My mate was much mistaken in his calculation of their number, I mean of a thousand canoes ; the most we could make of them when they came up, being about a hundred and six and twenty, and a great many of them too ; for some of them had sixteen or seventeen men in them, and some more, and the least six or seven.

When they came nearer to us, they seemed to be struck with wonder and astonishment, as at a sight which they had, doubtless never seen before ; nor could they, at first, as we afterwards understood, know what to make of us. They came boldly up however, very near to us, and seemed to go about to row round us : but we called to our men in the boats, not to let them come too near them.

However, I called to them not  
handed down some deal boards in  
presently set up a kind of a fence  
them from the arrows of the savages

About half an hour afterwards  
astern of us, and pretty near us,  
discern what they were, though we  
And I easily found they were some  
sort of savages that I had been us  
little time more they rowed a little  
came directly broadside with us, an  
upon us, till they came so near the  
Upon this, I ordered all my men to  
shoot any more arrows, and make a  
so near as to be within hearing, I n  
deck, and call out loud to them in  
they meant; which accordingly he d  
him or not, I knew not; but, as so

pressible grief, killed poor *Friday*, no other man being in their sight. The poor fellow was shot with no less than three arrows, and about three more fell very near him; such unlucky marksmen they were.

I was so enraged with the loss of my old servant, the companion of all my sorrows and solitudes, that I immediately ordered five guns to be loaded with small shot, and four with great; and gave them such a broadside as they had never heard in their lives before, to be sure.

They were not above half a cable length off when we fired; and our gunners took their aim so well, that three or four of their canoes were overset, as we had reason to believe, by one shot only.

The ill manners of turning up their bare backsides to us, gave us no great offence; neither did I know for certain whether that, which would pass for the greatest contempt among us, might be understood so by them or not; therefore in return I had only resolved to have fired four or five guns at them with powder only, which I knew would frighten them sufficiently: but when they shot at us directly with all the fury they were capable of, and especially as they had killed my poor *Friday*, whom I so entirely loved and valued, and who, indeed, so well deserved it; I not only had been justified before God and man, but would have been very glad, if I could, to have overset every canoe there, and drowned every one of them.

I can neither tell how many we killed, or how many we wounded, at this broadside; but sure such a fright and hurry never was seen among such a multitude: there were thirteen or fourteen of their canoes split, and overset, in all; and the men all set a swimming: the rest, frightened out of their wits, scoured away as fast as they could, taking but little care to save those whose boats were split or sparred with our shot; so I suppose that they were many of them lost; and our men took up one

poor fellow swimming for his life, above an hour after they were all gone.

Our small shot from our cannon must needs kill and wound a great many ; but, in short, we never knew any thing how it went with them ; for they fled so fast, that, in three hours, or thereabouts, we could not see above three or four straggling canoes ; nor did we ever see the rest any more ; for a breeze of wind springing up the same evening, we weighed and set sail for the *Brasils*.

We had a prisoner indeed, but the creature was so sullen, that he would neither eat or speak ; and we all fancied he would starve himself to death ; but I took a way to cure him ; for I made them take him and turn him into the long-boat, and make him believe they would toss him into the sea again, and so leave him where they found him, if he would not speak : nor would that do, but they really did throw him into the sea, and come away from him ; and then he followed them, for he swam like

language as well, if they were gagged, as otherwise ; nor could we perceive that they had any occasion either for teeth, tongue, lips or palate : but formed their words just as a hunting-horn forms a tune, with an open throat ; he told us, however, some time after, when we had taught him to speak a little *English*, that they were going, with their kings, to fight a great battle. When he said kings, we asked him, how many kings ? He said there were five nation, (we could not make him understand the plural s.) and that they all joined to go against *two nation*. We asked him, What made them come up to us ? He said, *To makee te great wonder look*—Where it is to be observed, that all those natives, as also those of *Africa*, when they learn *English*, they always add two c's at the end of the words where we use one, and place the accent upon them ; as *makèè takèè*, and the like ; and we could not break them of it ; nay, I could hardly make *Friday* leave it off, though at last he did.

And now I name the poor fellow once more, I must take my last leave of him ; poor honest *Friday* ! We buried him with all the decency and solemnity possible, by putting him into a coffin, and throwing him into the sea ; and I caused them to fire eleven guns for him : and so ended the life of the most grateful, faithful, honest, and most affectionate servant that ever man had.

We went now away with a fair wind for *Brazil*, and, in about twelve days' time, we made land in the latitude of five degrees south of the line, being the north-eastermost land of all that part of *America*. We kept on S. by E. in sight of the shore four days, when we made the *Cape St. Augustine*, and in three days came to an anchor off of the bay of *All Saints*, the old place of my deliverance, from whence came both my good and evil fate.

Never did a ship come to this part that had less business than I had ; and yet it was with great difficulty that we were admitted to hold the least correspondence on shore. Not my partner himself, who was alive, and made a great figure among them,

seamen, to come on shore, and no m  
absolutely capitulated for, that we s.  
goods out of the ship, or to carry  
licence.

They were so strict with us, as to  
was with extreme difficulty that I g  
*English* goods, such as fine broad clo  
which I had brought for a present to

He was a very generous, broad-hea  
he came from little at first ; and thou  
the least design of giving him any thi  
present of fresh provisions, wine, and  
thirty moidores, including some tobac  
medals in gold. But I was even with  
as I have said, consisted of fine broad  
and fine Hollands. Also, I delivered  
100l. *sterling*, in the same goods, for  
him to set up the sloop which

o with the sloop, and settle there, upon my letter to the  
Master ~~Spaniard~~, to allot him a sufficient quantity of land  
on plantation; and giving him some clothes, and tools  
for planting work, which he said he understood, having  
an old planter in *Maryland*, and a buccaneer into the  
ain.

encouraged the fellow by granting all he desired; and,  
in addition, I gave him the savage which we had taken  
out of war, to be his slave, and ordered the governor  
~~ward~~ to give him his share of every thing he wanted, with  
rest.

Then we came to fit this man out, my old partner told  
there was a certain very honest fellow, a *Brasil* planter  
his acquaintance, who had fallen into the displeasure of  
church: I know not what the matter is with him, says  
but, on my conscience, I think he is a heretic in his heart:  
he has been obliged to conceal himself for fear of the  
quisition: that he would be very glad of such an opportunity  
make his escape, with his wife and two daughters; and if I  
ld let them go to my island, and allot them a plantation,  
ould give them a small stock to begin with; for the officers  
the inquisition had seized all his effects and estate, and he  
nothing left but a little household stuff, and two slaves;  
adas he, though I hate h's principles, yet I would not  
h.m fall into their hands, for he will assuredly be burnt  
if he does.

granted this presently, and joined my *Englishman* with  
it: and we concealed the man, and his wife and daughters,  
board our ship, till the sloop put out to go to sea: and then  
ing put all their goods on board the sloop some time  
re) we put them on board the sloop, after he was got out  
the bay.

Our seaman was mightily pleased with this new partner; and

I sent them, by their sloop, thre  
about twenty-two hogs among th  
two mares, and a stone-horse.

For my *Spaniards*, according to  
*Portugal* women to go; and recor  
them, and use them kindly. I  
women, but I remembered that t  
two daughters, and there was but  
wanted; the rest had wives of th  
country.

All this cargo arrived safe, and  
very welcome to my old inhabit  
this addition) between sixty and se  
children; of which there was a gi  
at *London* from them all, by the v  
back to *England*; of which I shal  
mediately.

I have now done with my ~~inhabit~~

all liberty, and having committed no crime, has to go to the key at *Newgate*, and desire him to lock him up among the others there, and starve him. Had I taken a small vessel in *England*, and went directly to the island; had I loaded as I did the other vessel, with all the necessaries for the nation, and for my people; took a patent from the government here, to have secured my property, in subjection only to the king of *England*; had I carried over cannon and ammunition, tents, and people to plant, and, taking possession of the place, fitted and strengthened it in the name of *England*, and intended it with people, as I might easily have done; had I then led myself there, and sent the ship back, loaden with good things, as I might also have done in six months' time, and ordered my friends to have fitted her out again for our supply; had I done this, and stayed there myself, I had at least acted like a man of common sense; but I was possessed with a wandering spirit, scorned all advantages, I pleased myself with being the son of those people I had placed there, and doing for them in a kind of haughty majestic way, like an old patriarchal monarch; providing for them, as if I had been father of the whole family, as well as of the plantation: but I never so much as pretended to plant in the name of any government or nation, or to acknowledge any prince, or to call my people subjects to any nation more than another; nay, I never so much as gave the place a name; but left it as I found it, belonging to nobody; the people under no discipline or government but my own; though I had an influence over them as a father and benefactor, had no authority or power to act or command one way rather, farther than voluntary consent moved them to comply: even this, had I staid there, would have done well enough; but I rambled from them, and came there no more, the last time I had from any of them, was by my partner's means, who afterwards sent another sloop to the place; and who sent me

might see their own country again

But I was gone *a wild-goose chase*.  
have any more of me, must be con-  
new variety of follies, hardships, as  
the justice of Providence may be  
see how easily Heaven can gorge us  
the strongest of our wishes be our a-  
severely with those very things whic-  
utmost happiness to be allowed in.

Let no wise man flatter himself w-  
judgment, as if he was able to chuse  
life for himself. Man is a short-sigh-  
little way before him ; and as his pa-  
friends, so his particular affections a-  
sellors.

I say this with respect to the imp-  
youth, to wander into the world ; an-  
that this principle was preserved in

time now to enlarge any farther upon the reason or absurdity of my own conduct ; but to come to the history ; I was embarked for the voyage, and the voyage I went.

I should only add here, that my honest and truly pious clergyman left me here ; a ship being ready to go to *Lisbon*, he asked me leave to go thither ; being still, as he observed, bound never to finish any voyage he began. How happy had it been for me, if I had gone with him.

But it was too late now ; all things Heaven appoints are best ; had I gone with him, I had never had so many things to be thankful for, and you had never heard of the second part of the *Travels and Adventures of Robin Crusoe* ; so I must leave here the fruitless exclaiming at myself, and go on with my voyage.

From the *Brasils* we made directly away over the *Atlantic* sea, to the *Cape de Bonne Esperance*, or, as we call it, the *Cape of Good Hope* ; and had a tolerable good voyage, our course generally south-east ; now and then a storm, and some contrary winds. But my disasters at sea were at an end ; my future rubs and cross events were to beset me on shore ; that it might appear, the land was as well prepared to be our scourge as the sea, when Heaven, who directs the circumstances of things, pleases to appoint it to be so.

Our ship was on a trading voyage, and had a supercargo on board, who was to direct all her motions, after she arrived at the *Cape* ; only being limited to certain numbers of days for stay, by charter-party, at the several ports she was to go to : this was none of my business, neither did I meddle with it at all ; my nephew, the captain, and the supercargo, adjusting all those things between them as they thought fit.

We made no stay at the *Cape*, longer than was needful to take in fresh water, but made the best of our way for the coast of *Coromandel* ; we were indeed informed that a French man of

the like; such as almost all the his  
full of, and makes the reading tire-  
fectedly unprofitable to all that read, &  
to go to those places themselves.

It is enough to name the ports a-  
at; and what occurred to us upon o-  
other. We touched first at the isle  
though the people are fierce and trea-  
very well armed with lances and bow-  
conceivable dexterity, yet we fared we-  
they treated us very civilly; and for  
them, such as knives, scissars, &c. the  
fat bullocks, middling in size, but w-  
we took in, partly for fresh provisions  
and the rest to salt for the ship's use.

We were obliged to stay here som-  
nished ourselves with provisions; ar-  
curious to look into ~~every~~ <sup>every</sup> ~~part~~ <sup>part</sup> of

and friendship, but when it is accepted, the other side set up three poles, or boughs; which is a signal that they accept the truce too; but then this is a known condition of the truce, that you are not to pass beyond their three poles towards them, nor they come past your three poles or boughs towards you; so that you are perfectly secure within the three poles; and all the space between your poles and their's, is allowed like a market, for free converse, traffick, and commerce. When you go there you must not carry your weapons with you; and if they come into that space, they stick up their javelins and lances, all at the first poles, and come on unarmed; but if any violence is offered them, and the truce thereby broken, away they run to the poles, and lay hold of their weapons, and then the truce is at an end.

It happened one evening, when we went on shore, that a greater number of their people came down than usual, but all was very friendly and civil, and they brought in several kinds of provisions, for which we satisfied them with such toys as we had; their women also brought us milk and roots, and several things very acceptable to us, and all was quiet; and we made us a little tent, or hut, of some boughs of trees, and lay on shore all night.

I know not what was the occasion, but I was not so well satisfied to lie on shore as the rest; and the boat riding at an anchor about a stone cast from the land, with two men in her to take care of her, I made one of them come on shore; and getting some boughs of trees to cover us also in the boat, I spread the sail on the bottom of the boat, and lay under the cover of the branches of trees, all night in the boat.

About two o'clock in the morning we heard one of our men make a terrible noise on the shore calling out for God's sake to bring the boat in, and come and help them, for they were all like to be murdered; at the same time I heard the fire of five musquets, which was the number of the guns they had, and

that three times over; for, it seems the natives here were as so easily frightened with guns as the savages were in *America*, where I had to do with them.

All this while I knew not what was the matter; but rousing immediately from sleep with the noise, I caused the boat to be thrust in, and resolved, with three fusils we had on board, to land and assist our men.

We got the boat soon to the shore; but our men were in too much haste; for, being come to the shore, they plunged into the water, to get to the boat with all the expedition they could, being pursued by between three and four hundred men. Our men were but nine in all, and only five of them had fuses with them; the rest had indeed pistols and swords, but they were of small use to them.

We took up seven of our men, and with difficulty enough too, three of them being very ill wounded; and that which was still worse, was, that while we stood in the boat to take our men in, we were in as much danger as they were in on shore - for

chor, or set up our sail, because we must needs stand up in a boat, and they were as sure to hit us, as we were to hit a bird in a tree with small shot: we made signals of distress to the ship, which though we rode a league off, yet my nephew, the captain, hearing our firing, and by glasses perceiving the posture we lay in, and that we fired towards the shore, pretty well understood us; and, weighing anchor with all speed, he rode as near the shore as he durst with the ship, and then sent another boat, with ten hands in her, to assist us; but we called them not to come too near, telling them what condition we were in: however, they stood in nearer to us, and one of them, taking the end of a tow-line in his hand, and keeping our boat between him and the enemy, so that they could not perfectly see him, swam on board us, and made the line fast to the boat; upon which we slipt our little cable, and leaving our anchor behind, they towed us out of the reach of the arrows; we all the while lying close behind the barricade I had made.

As soon as we were got from between the ship and the shore, that she could lay her side to the shore, she running just by them, and poured in a broadside among them, loaded with pieces of iron and lead, small bullets and such like, besides the great shot, which made a terrible havoc among them.

When we were got on board, and out of danger, we had time to examine into the occasion of this fray; and, indeed, our supercargo, who had been often in those parts, put me upon it; for said he was sure the inhabitants would not have touched us if we had made a truce, if we had not done something to provoke them to it. At length it came out, viz. That an old woman, who had come to sell us some milk, had brought it thin our poles, with a young woman with her, who also brought some roots or herbs; and while the old woman (whether she was

mother to the young woman or no, they could not tell), we selling us the milk, one of our men offered some rudeness to the wench that was with her; at which the old woman made a great noise. However, the seaman would not quit his prize, but carried her out of the old woman's sight, among the trees, it being almost dark; the old woman went away without her, and, as we suppose, made an outcry among the people she came from; who, upon notice, raised this great army upon us in three or four hours; and it was great odds but we had been all destroyed.

One of our men was killed with a lance that was thrown at him, just at the beginning of the attack, as he sallied out of the tent they had made; the rest came off free, all but the fellow who was the occasion of all the mischief, who paid dear enough for his black mistress, for we could not hear what became of him a great while. We lay upon the shore two days after, though the wind presented, and made signals for him; made our boat sail up shore and down shore several leagues, but

in up the evening before. I landed here, because my design, have said, was chiefly to see if they had quitted the field, if they had left any marks behind them, or of the mischief had done them; and I thought, if we could surprise one or of them, perhaps we might get our man again, by way of range.

We landed without any noise, and divided our men into two parties, whereof the boatswain commanded one, and I the other. We neither saw or heard any body stir when we landed; and marched up one body at a distance from the other, to the town, but at first could see nothing, it being very dark; till by and by our boatswain, that led the first party, stumbled and fell over some body. This made them halt awhile; for knowing by circumstances, that they were at the place where the *Indians* stood, they waited for my coming up here; we concluded not till the moon began to rise, which we knew would be in less than an hour, when we could easily discern the havock we made among them. We told two-and-thirty bodies upon the ground, whereof two were not quite dead. Some had an arm, and some a leg, shot off; and one his head. Those that were wounded, we supposec they had carried away.

When we had made, as I thought, a full discovery of all we had come at the knowledge of, I was resolved for going on board; but the boatswain and his party sent me word, that they were resolved to make a visit to the *Indian* town, where the dogs, as they called them, dwelt, and asked me to go along with them; and if they could find them as still they fancied they should, they did not doubt getting a good booty; and it might be, they might find *Tho. Jeffry* there: that was the man's name we had lost.

Had they sent to ask my leave to go, I knew well enough what answer to have given them: for I should have commanded them instantly on board, knowing it was not a hazard fit for us

to run, who had a ship, and ship loading in our charge, and a voyage to make, which depended very much upon the lives of the men ; but as they sent me word they were resolved to go, and only asked me and my company to go along with them, I positively refused it, and rose up (*for I was sitting on the ground*) in order to go to the boat. One or two of the men began to importune me to go ; and, when I refused positively, began to grumble, and say they were not under my command, and they would go. Come, Jack, says one of the men, will you go with me ? I will go for one. Jack said he would ; and another followed ; and then another ; and, in a word, they all left me but one, who I persuaded to stay ; so the supercargo and I, with the third man, went back to the boat, where we told them, we would stay for them, and take care to take in as many of them as should be left ; for I told them, it was a mad thing they were going about, and supposed most of them would run the fate of *Thom. Jeffry.*

They told me like a common they would never be in a fit place to be run over.

about, yet, to give them their due, they went about it as warily as boldly. They were gallantly armed, that is true; for they had every man a fusée or musquet, a bayonet, every man a pistol; some of them had broad cutlasses, some of them hangers; and the boatswain, and two more, had pole-axes: besides all which, they had among them thirteen hand-grenadoes. Bold fellows, and better provided never went about any wicked work in the world.

When they went out, their chief design was plunder; and they were in mighty hopes of finding gold there; but a circumstance, which none of them were aware of, set them on fire with revenge, and made devils of them all. When they came to the few *Indian* houses, which they thought had been the town, which was not above half a mile off, they were under a great disappointment; for there was not above twelve or thirteen houses; and where the town was, or how big, they knew not, they consulted therefore what to do, and was some time before they could resolve: for if they fell upon these, they must cut all their throats; and it was ten to one but some of them might escape, it being in the night, though the moon was up; and if one escaped, he would run away, and raise all the town, so they should have a whole army upon them. Again, on the other hand, if they went away, and left those untouched (for the people were all asleep) they could not tell which way to look for the town.

However, the last was the best advice; so they resolved to leave them, and look for the town as well as they could. They went on a little way, and found a cow tied to a tree; this they presently concluded would be a good guide to them; for they said the cow certainly belonged to the town before them, or the town behind them; and if they untied her, they should see which way she went; if she went back, they had nothing to say to her; but if she went forward, they had nothing to do but to follow her; so they cut the cord, which was made of twisted flax, and

the cow went on before them. In a word, the cow is directly to the town, which, as they report, consisted a 200 houses, or huts; and in some of these they found families living together.

Here they found all in silence; as profoundly secure, and a country that had never seen an enemy of that kind make them. And first they called another council, to what they had to do; and, in a word, they resolved to themselves into three bodies, and to set three houses of three parts of the town; and as the men came out to seize and bind them: if any resisted, they need not be asked do then; and so to search the rest of the houses for plunder they resolved to march silently first through the town, what dimensions it was of, and if they might venture up no.

They did so, and desperately resolved that they would upon them; but while they were animating one another's work, three of them, that were a little before the rest, ca-

take fire ; but after a little search, they found that would ~~be to~~ no purpose ; but the most of the houses were low, and ~~thatched~~ with flags or rushes, of which the country is full ; so they presently made some wild fire, as we call it, by wetting a little powder in the palms of their hands ; and in a quarter of an hour they set the town on fire in four or five places ; and particularly that house where the *Indians* were not gone to bed. As soon as the fire began to blaze, the poor frightened creatures began to rush out to save their lives ; but met with their fate in the attempt, and especially at the door, where they drove them back, the boatswain himself killing one or two with his pole-axe ; the house being large, and many in it, he did not care to go in, but called for a hand-grenado, and threw it among them, which at first frightened them ; but when it burst, made such havock among them, that they cried out in a hideous manner.

In short, most of the *Indians* who were in the open part of the house, were killed or hurt with the grenado, except two or three more, who pressed to the door, which the boatswain and two more kept, with the bayonets in the muzzles of their pieces, and dispatched all that came that way. But there was another apartment in the house, where the prince, or king, or whatever he was, and several others, were ; and these they kept in, till the house, which was by this time all of a light flame, fell in upon them, and they were smothered, or burnt together.

All this while they fired not a gun, because they would not waken the people faster than they could master them ; but the fire began to waken them fast enough, and our fellows were glad to keep a little together in bodies ; for the fire grew so raging, all the houses being made of light combustible stuff, that they could hardly bear the street between them ; and their business was to follow the fire for the surer execution. As fast as the fire either forced the people out of those houses which were burning, or frightened them out of others, our people were ready at their

doors to knock them on the head, still calling and hallooing one another to remember *Thom. Jeffrys.*

While this was doing, I must confess I was very uneasy, especially, when I saw the flames of the town, which, it was night, seemed to be just by me.

My nephew, the captain, who was roused by his men seeing such a fire, was very uneasy, not knowing what the fire was, or what danger I was in; especially hearing the guns roar for by this time they began to use their fire-arms. A thousand thoughts oppressed his mind concerning me and the supercargo; what should become of us; and at last, though he could ill spare any more men, yet, not knowing what exigence we might be in, he takes another boat, and with thirteen men and himself comes on shore to me.

He was surprised to see me and the supercargo in the boat, with no more than two men; and though he was glad that we were well, yet he was in the same impatience with us to know what was doing; for the noise continued, and the flame increased.

lade them not to go; so, in short, the captain ordered us to row back the pinnace, and fetch twelve men more, the long-boat at an anchor; and that when they came the men should keep the two boats, and six more come after that he left only sixteen men in the ship; for the whole company consisted of sixty-five men, whereof two were lost in the quarrel which brought this mischief on.

Now on the march, you may be sure we felt little of the we tried on; and being guid'd by the fire, we kept no we went directly to the place of the flame. If the noise of we were surprising to us before, the cries of the poor people were of quite another nature, and filled us with horror. I confess I never was at the sucking a city, or at the taking by storm. I had heard of Oliver Cromwell taking Drog-Ireland, and killing man, woman, and child; and I had Count Tilly sacking the city of Magdebourg, and cutting off of 22,000 of all sexes; but I never had an idea of the self before; nor is it possible to describe it, or the horror upon our minds at hearing it.

ever, we went on, and at length, came to the town, though no entering the streets of it for the fire. The first ob-ject with was the ruins of a hut or house, or rather the it, for the house was consumed; and just before it, plain be seen by the light of the fire, lay four men and three killed; and, as we thought, one or two more lay in the long the fire. In short, there were such instances of a together barbarous, and of a fury something beyond what man, that we thought it impossible our men could be fit; or if they were the authors of it, we thought they be every one of them put to the worst of deaths. But not all; we saw the fire increased forward, and the cry, just as the fire went on, so that we were in the utmost a. We advanced a little way farther; and beheld, to our

astonishment, three women naked, and crying in a most dreadful manner, come flying, as if they had indeed had wings, and after them sixteen or seventeen men, natives, in the same terror and consternation, with three of our *English* butchers (for I can call them no better) in their rear ; who, when they could not overtake them, fired in among them, and one that was killed by the shot, fell down in our sight ; when the rest saw us, believing us to be their enemies, and that we would murder them, as well as those that pursued them, they set up a most dreadful shriek, especially the women ; and two of them fell down as if already dead with the fright.

My very soul shrunk within me, and my blood run chill in my veins when I saw this ; and I believe, had the three *English* sailors that pursued them come on, I had made our men kill them all. However, we took some ways to let the poor flying creatures know that we would not hurt them ; and immediately they came up to us, and kneeling down, with their hands lifted up,

I would fain have learned what the occasion of all this was, but I could not understand one word they said, though by signs I perceived that some of them knew not what was the occasion themselves. I was so terrified in my thoughts at this outrageous attempt, that I could not stay there, but went back to my own men, and resolved to go into the middle of the town through the fire, or whatever might be in the way, and put an end to it cost what it would : accordingly, as soon as I came back to my men, I told them my resolution, and commanded them to follow me, when in the very moment came four of our men, with the boatswain at their head, roving over the heaps of bodies they had killed, all covered with blood and dust, as if they wanted more people to massacre ; when our men hallooed to them as loud as they could halloo ; and, with much ado, one of them made them hear ; so that they knew who we were, and came up to us.

As soon as the boatswain saw us, he set up a halloo like a shout of triumph, for having, as he thought, more help come ; and without bearing to hear me, Captain, says he, noble captain, I am glad you are come ; we have not half done yet. Villainous hell-hounds ! I will kill as many of them as poor Tom has hairs upon his head. We have sworn to spare none of them ; we will root out the very nation of them from the earth : and thus he run on, out of breath too with action, and would not give us leave to speak a word.

At last, raising my voice that I might silence him a little. Barbarous dog ! said I, what are you doing ? I will not have one creature touched more, upon pain of death. I charge you, upon your life, to stop your hands, and stand still here, or you are a dead man this minute.

Why, Sir, says he, do you know what you do, or what they have done ? If you want a reason for what we have done, come hither ; and with that he shewed me the poor fellow hanging upon a tree, with his throat cut.

I confess I was urged then myself, and at another time I  
have been forward enough ; but I thought they had carried the  
rage too far, and thought of Jacob's words to his sons Simeon and  
Levi, "*Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce ; and their wrath*  
*for it was cruel.*" But I had now a new task upon my hands  
for when the men I carried with me saw the sight, as I had done,  
I had as much to do to restrain them as I should have had with  
the other ; nay, my nephew himself fell in with them, and told me, in their hearing, that he was only concerned for fear of the  
men being overpowered ; for, as to the people, he thought no  
one of them ought to live ; for they had all glutted themselves with  
the murder of the poor man, and that they ought to be used like  
murderers : upon these words, away ran eight of my men with  
the boatswain and his crew, to complete their bloody work ; and I,  
seeing it quite out of my power to restrain them, came away  
despised and sad ; for I could not bear the sight, much less the  
horrible noise and cries of the poor wretches that fell into their  
hands.

wards, was, our men falling upon the men, who, as I said, stood at the few houses on the way ; of whom they killed sixteen or seventeen, and set all those houses on fire, but did not meddle with the women or children.

By that time the men got to the shore again with the pinnace, our men began to appear ; they came dropping in, some and some ; not in two bodies, and in form, as they went, but all in heaps, straggling here and there in such a manner, that a small force of resolute men might have cut them all off.

But the dread of them was upon the whole country. And the men were amazed and surprised, and so frightened, that, I believe, a hundred of them would have fled at the sight of but five of our men. Nor in all this terrible action was there a man that made any considerable defence ; they were so surprised between the terror of the fire, and the sudden attack of our men in the dark, that they knew not which way to turn themselves ; for if they fled one way they were met by one party ; if back again, by another ; so that they were every where knocked down. Nor did any of our men receive the least hurt, except one that strained his foot, and another had one of his hands very much burnt.

I was very angry with my nephew, the captain, and, indeed, with all the men, in my mind, but with him in particular ; as well for his acting so out of his duty, as commander of the ship, and having the charge of the voyage upon him, as in his prompting, rather than cooling, the rage of his men in so bloody and cruel an enterprise. My nephew answered me very respectfully ; but told me that when he saw the body of the poor seaman, who they had murdered in such a cruel and barbarous manner, he was not master of himself, neither could he govern his passion ; he owned he shoukd not have done so, as he was commander of the ship ; but as he was a man, and nature moved him, he could not bear it. As for the rest of the men, they were not subject to me

t all ; and they knew it well enough, so they took no notice of my dislike.

The next day we set sail ; so we never heard any more of it. Our men differed in the account of the number they killed ; some said one thing, some another. But, according to the best of the accounts put altogether, they killed, or destroyed, about 150 people, men, women, and children ; and left not a house standing in the town.

As for the poor fellow, *Tho. Jeffrys*, as he was quite dead, for his throat was so cut that his head was half off, it would do him no service to bring him away ; so they left him where they found him, only took him down from the tree where he was hanged by one hand.

However just our men thought this action, I was against them in it ; and I always, after that time, told them God would blight the voyage ; for I looked upon all the blood they shed that night to be murder in them ; for though it is true that they had killed *Tho. Jeffrys*, yet it was as true that *Jeffrys* was the aggressor, had broken the truce, and had violated or debauched a young woman of their's who came down to them innocently, and on the faith of their public capitulation.

us against going on shore among heathens and barbarians ; but it is impossible to make mankind wise, but at their own expense ; and their experience seems to be always of most use to them, when it is dearest bought.

We were now bound to the gulph of *Persia*, and from thence to the coast of *Coromandel*, only to touch at *Surat* ; but the chief of the supercargo's design lay at the bay of *Bengal*, where if he missed of his business outward-bound, he was to go up to *China*, and return to the coast as he came home.

The first disaster that beset us was in the gulph of *Persia*, where five of our men, venturing on shore on the *Arabian* side of the gulph, were surrounded by the *Arabians*, and either all killed, or carried away into slavery ; the rest of the boat's crew were not able to rescue them, and had but just time to get off their boat. I began to upbraid them with the just retribution of Heaven in this case ; but the boatswain very warmly told me, he thought I went farther in my censures than I could shew any warrant for in scripture, and referred to the 13 St. *Luke*, vers. 4th. where our Saviour intimates, that those men on whom the Tower of *Siloam* fell were not sinners above all the *Galileans* ; but that which, indeed, put me to silence in the case, was, that none of those five men, who were now lost, were of the number of those who went on shore to the massacre of *Madagascar* (so I always called it, though our men could not bear the word massacre with any patience) : and, indeed, this last circumstance, as I have said, put me to silence for the present.

But my frequent preaching to them on this subject had worse consequences than I expected ; and the boatswain, who had been the head of the attempt, came up boldly to me one time, and told me, he found that I continually brought that affair upon the stage ; that I made unjust reflections upon it, and had used the men very ill on that account, and himself in particular ; that as I was but a passenger, and had no command in the ship, or con-

cern in the voyage, they were not obliged to bear it ; that we did not know but I might have some ill design in my head, or perhaps, to call them to an account for it, when they came to *England* ; and that therefore, unless I would resolve to have the ~~massacre~~ with it, and also not to concern myself any farther with him, or any of his affairs, he would leave the ship ; for he did not think it was safe to sail with me among them.

I heard him patiently enough till he had done, and then told him, that I did confess that I had all along opposed the ~~massacre~~ of *Madagascar*, for such I would always call it ; and that I had on all occasions spoken my mind freely about it, though not more upon him than any of the rest ; that as to my having no command in the ship, that was true, nor did I exercise any authority, only took my liberty of speaking my mind in things which publicly concerned us all ; and what concern I had in the voyage, that was none of his business ; that I was a considerable owner of the ship, and in that claim I conceived I had a right to speak, even farther than I had yet done, and would not be

would certainly be a mutiny in the ship; and entreated him to go immediately on board the ship in an *Indian* boat, and acquaint the captain of it: but I might have spared this intelligence, for, before I had spoken to him on shore, the matter was effected on board: the boatswain, the gunner, the carpenter, and in a word, all the inferior officers, as soon as I was gone off in the boat, came up to the quarter-deck, and desired to speak with the captain: and there the boatswain, making a long harangue (for the fellow talked very well), and repeating all he had said to me, told the captain in few words, that as I was now gone peaceably on shore, they were loth to use any violence with me; which, if I had not gone on shore, they would otherwise have done, to oblige me to have gone. They therefore thought fit to tell him, that as they shipped themselves to serve in the ship under his command, they would perform it well and faithfully: but if I would not quit the ship, or the captain oblige me to quit it, they would all leave the ship, and sail no farther with him: and at that word *ALL*, he turned his face about towards the main mast, which was, it seems, the signal agreed on between them; at which all the seamen being got together there, cried out, *One and ALL, One and ALL!*

My nephew, the captain, was a man of spirit, and of great presence of mind, and though he was surprised, you may be sure, at the thing, yet he told them calmly he would consider of the thing; but that he could do nothing in it till he had spoken to me about it: he used some arguments with them, to shew them the unreasonableness and injustice of the thing; but it was all in vain; they swore, and shook hands round, before his face, that they would go all on shore, unless he would engage to them not to suffer me to come any more on board the ship.

This was a hard article upon him, who knew his obligation to me, and did not know how I might take it; so he began to talk cavalierly to them; told them that I was a very considerable

owner of the ship, and that in justice he could not put me out of my own house ; that this was next door to serving me as the famous pirate *Kid* had done, who made the mutiny in a ship, & the captain on shore in an uninhabited island, and run away with the ship ; that let them go into what ship they would, if ever they came to *England* again, it would cost them dear ; that the ship was mine, and that he could not put me out of it ; and that he would rather lose the ship, and the voyage too than disoblige me so much ; so they might do as they pleased. However, he would go on shore, and talk with me on shore ; and invited the boatswain to go with him, and perhaps they might accommodate the matter with me.

But they all rejected the proposal ; and said they would have nothing to do with me any more, neither on board, or on shore ; and if I came on board, they would all go on shore. Well, said the captain, if you are all of this mind, let me go on shore, and talk with him : so away he came to me with this account, a little after the message had been brought to me from the cock-

This was a heavy piece of news to my nephew; but there was no way to help it but to comply with it. So, in short, he went on board the ship again, and satisfied the men, that his uncle had yielded to their importunity, and had sent for his goods from on board the ship. So the matter was over in a very few hours, the men returned to their duty, and I began to consider what course I should steer.

I was now alone in the remotest part of the world, as I think I may call it; for I was near three thousand leagues, by sea, farther off from England than I was at my island; only, it is true, I might travel here by land, over the Great Mogul's country to Surat, might go from thence to Bassora by sea, up the gulph of Persia, and from thence might take the way of the caravans, over the desert of Arabia to Aleppo and Scanderoon; from thence by sea again to Italy, and so over land into France; and this, put together, might be, at least, a full diameter of the globe; but, if it were to be measured, I suppose it would appear to be a great deal more.

I had another way before me, which was to wait for some English ships, which were coming to Bengal from Achin, on the island of Sumatra, and get a passage on board them for England; but as I came hither without any concern with the English East India Company, so it would be difficult to go from hence without their licence, unless with great favour of the captains of the ships, or of the company's factors, and to both I was an utter stranger.

Here I had the particular pleasure, speaking by contraries, to see the ship set sail without me; a treatment, I think, a man in my circumstances scarce ever met with, except from pirates running away with the ship, and setting those that would not agree with their villainy on shore: indeed, this was the next door to it, both ways. However, my nephew left me two servants, or rather, one companion, and one servant; the first was clerk to

... what course to take  
I had some *English* goods with  
sum of money; my nephew  
pieces of eight, and a letter of credit  
that I might not be straitened, w

I quickly disposed of my goods  
as I originally intended, I bought  
monds, which, of all other things  
in my present circumstances, became  
whole estate about me.

After a long stay here, and many  
turn to *England*, but none falling  
merchant, who lodged with me, and  
intimate acquaintance with, came to  
man, says he, I have a project to  
as it suits with my thoughts, may  
yours also, when you shall have th

Here we are posted, says he, y  
own choice, in a ----

to be idle? There are no drones in the world but men: why should we be of that number?

I liked his proposal very well; and the more, because it seemed to be expressed with so much good will, and in so friendly a manner. I will not say, but that I might, by my present and unhinged circumstances, be the fitter to embrace a proposal for trade, or, indeed, for any thing else; whereas, otherwise, trade was none of my element: however, I might, perhaps, say, with some truth, that if trade was not my element, rambling was; and no proposal for seeing any part of the world which I had never seen before, could possibly come amiss to me.

It was, however, some time before we could get a ship to our minds; and when we got a vessel, it was not easy to get English sailors; that is to say, so many as were necessary to govern the voyage, and manage the sailors which we should pick up there. After some time we got a mate, a boatswain, and a gunner, English; a Dutch carpenter, and three Portuguese, to make men; with these, we found we could do well enough, leaving Indian seamen, such as they are, to make up.

There are so many travellers who have wrote the history of their voyages and travels this way, that it would be very little diversion to any body, to give a long account of the places we went to, and the people who inhabit there: those things I leave to others, and refer the reader to those journals and travels of Englishmen, of which, many I find, are published, and more promised every day. It is enough to me to tell you, that I made one voyage to Achin, in the island of Sumatra, and from thence to Siam, where we exchanged some of our wares for opium, and one attack; the first, a commodity which bears a great price among the Chinese, and which, at that time, was very much wanted there; in a word, we went up to Susham; made a very fat voyage; was eight months out; and returned to Bengal.

and I was very well satisfied with my adventure. I observe, that our people in *England* often admire how the officers, which the Company send into *India*, and the merchants which generally stay there, get such very great estates as they do, and sometimes come home worth 60 to 70 and 100 thousand pounds at a time.

But it is no wonder, or, at least, we shall see so much farther into it, when we consider the innumerable ports and places where they have a free commerce, that it will then be no wonder; and much less will it be so, when we consider, that at all those places and ports where the *English* ships come, there is so much, and such constant demand for the growth of all other countries, that there is a certain vent for the returns, as well as a market abroad for the goods carried out.

In short, we made a very good voyage, and I got so much money by the first adventure, and such an insight into the method of getting more, that, had I been twenty year younger, I

wandering and seeing. I was come into a part of the world which I was never in before ; and that part in particular, which I had heard much of ; and was resolved to see as much of as I could ; and then I thought, I might say, I had seen all the world that was worth seeing.

But my fellow-traveller and I had different notions. I do not name this to insist upon my own, for I acknowledge his were the most just, and the most suited to the end of a merchant's life ; who, when he is abtnad upon adventures, it is his wisdom to stick to that, as the best thing for him, which he is like to get the most money by. My new friend kept himself to the nature of the thing, and would have been content to have gone, like a carrier's horse, always to the same inn, backward and forward, provided he could, as he called it, *fix his account in it* ; on the other hand, mine was the notion of a mad rambling boy, that never cares to see a thing twice over.

But this was not all. I had a kind of impatience upon me to be nearer home, and yet the most unsettled resolution imaginable which way to go. In the interval of these consultations, my friend, who was always upon the search for business, proposed another voyage to me, among the Spice Islands ; and to bring home a loading of cloves from the *Manillas*, or thereabouts ; places where, indeed, the Dutch do trade, but islands belonging partly to the *Spaniards* ; though we went not so far, but to some other, where they have not the whole power as they have at *Batavia*, *Ceylon*, &c. We were not long in preparing for this voyage ; the chief difficulty was in bringing me to come into it ; however, at last, nothing else offering, and finding that really stirring about and trading, the profit being so great, and, as I may say, certain, had more pleasure in it, and more satisfaction to the mind, than sitting still ; which, to me especially, was the unhappiest part of life, I resolved on his voyage too : which we made very successfully, touching at *Borneo*, and several islands,

lent temper, is not this better than  
*of nothing to do*, and spending our  
and ignorance of the Pagans? I  
I think it is; and I begin to be  
merchandizing. But I must tell you  
not know what I am a doing; for  
wardness, and embark heartily, as  
up and down the world till I tire  
eagerly, I shall never let you lie still.

But to be short with my speculations  
there came in a *Dutch* ship from  
not an *European* trader, and of about  
the men, as they pretended, having  
tain had not men enough to go to sea;  
and, having it seems got money and  
other reasons, to go for *Europe*, I  
would sell his ship: this came to me  
heard of it; and I had - - -

If them was to be found. We inquired much about them, and it length were told, that they were all gone together, by land, to *Agra*, the great city of the *Mogul's* residence; and from hence were to travel to *Surat*, and so by sea to the gulph of *Persia*.

Nothing had so heartily troubled me a good while, as that I missed the opportunity of going with them, for such a ramble, I thought, and in such company as would both have guarded me, and diverted me, would have suited mightily with my great design; and I should both have seen the world, and gone homewards too; but I was much better satisfied a few days after, when I came to know what sort of fellows they were; for, in short, their history was, that this man they called captain was the gunner only, not the commander; that they had been a trading voyage, in which they were attacked on shore by some of the *Malaccans*, who had killed the captain and three of his men; and that after the captain was killed, these men, eleven in number, had resolved to run away with the ship, which they did; and had brought her in at the bay of *Bengal*, leaving the mate and five men more on shore; of whom we shall hear farther.

Well, let them come by the ship how they would, we came presently by her, as we thought; though we did not, I confess, examine into things so exactly as we ought; for we never inquired any thing of the seamen, who, if we had examined, would certainly have faltered in their account, contradicted one another, and perhaps have contradicted themselves; or, one how or other, should have seen reason to have suspected them: but the man shewed us a bill of sale for the ship, to one *Emanuel Clesshoven*, or some such name (for I suppose it was all a forgery), and called himself by that name; and we could not contradict him; and being withal a little too unwary, or at least, having a suspicion of the thing, we went through with our bargain.

We picked up some more English seamen here after this, & some Dutch ; and now we resolved for a second voyage to the south-east, for cloves, &c. that is to say, among the *Philippine* and *Malucca* isles ; and, in short, not to fill this part of my time with trifles, when what is yet to come is so remarkable, I spent from first to last, six years in this country, trading from port to port, backward and forward, and with very good success ; and was now the last year with my new partner, going in the ship above-mentioned, on a voyage to *China* ; but designing first to go to *Siam*, to buy rice.

In this voyage, being by contrary winds obliged to beat up and down a great while in the straits of *Malacca*, and among the islands, we were no sooner got clear of those difficult seas, but we found our ship had sprung a leak, and we were not able, by all our industry, to find out where it was. This forced us to make for some port ; and my partner, who knew the country better than I did, directed the captain to put into the river of *Cambodia* ; for I had made the English mate, one Mr. Thompson

ught I see, you have no knowledge of it. I know no danger I am in, said I, but that my ship is leaky, and I cannot find it out ; but I purpose to lay her aground to-morrow, to see if I can find it. But, Sir, says he, leaky or noe leaky, find it or not find it, you will be wiser than to lay your ship on shore to-morrow, when you hear what I have to say to you. Do you know, Sir, said he, the town of *Cambræia* lies about fifteen leagues up this river ? And there are two large *English* ships about five leagues on this side, and three *Dutch*. Well, said I, and what is that to me ? Why, Sir, says he, is it for a man that is upon such adventures as you are, to come into a port, and not examine first what ships there are there, and whether he is able to deal with them ? I suppose you do not think you are a match for them ? I was amused very much at his discourse, but not amazed at it ; for I could not conceive what he meant ; and I turned short upon him, and said, Sir, I wish you would explain yourself ; I cannot imagine what reason I have to be afraid of any Company's ships, or *Dutch* ships ; I am no interloper ; what can they have to say to me ?

He looked like a man half angry, half pleased ; and, pausing awhile, but smiling, Well, Sir, says he, if you think yourself secure, you must take your chance ; I am sorry your fate should blind you against good advice ; but assure yourself, if you do not put to sea immediately, you will the very next tide be attacked by five long-boats full of men ; and, perhaps if you are taken, you will be hanged for a pirate, and the particulars be examined afterwards. I thought, Sir, added he, I should have met with a better reception than this, for doing you a piece of service of such importance. I can never be ungrateful, said I, for any service, or to any man that offers me any kindness ; but it is past my comprehension, said I, what they should have such a design upon me for. However, since you say there is no time to be lost, and that there is some villainous design in hand against

me, I will go on board this minute, and put to sea immediately, my men can stop the leak, or if we can swim without stopping it. But, Sir, said I, shall I go away ignorant of the reason of all this? Can you give me no farther light into it?

I can tell you but part of the story, Sir, says he; but I bring a Dutch seaman here with me, and, I believe, I could persuade him to tell you the rest; but there is scarce time for it. As the short of the story is this, the first part of which, I suppose you know well enough, *viz.* That you was with this ship at Sumatra; that there your captain was murdered by the *Macassars*, with three of his men; and that you, or some of those that were on board with you, ran away with the ship, and are now turned PIRATES. This is the sum of the story, and you will all be seized as pirates, I can assure you, and executed with very little ceremony; for you know merchants' ships shew but little law to pirates, if they get them into their power.

Now you speak plain *English*, said I, and I thank you; and though I know nothing that we have done, like what you talk

illing to make me any amends, because you may not be con-  
vinced of the truth of it: I will make an offer to you; I have  
meteen months pay due to me on board the ship —, which  
came out of *England* in; and the *Dutchman*, that is with me,  
as seven months' pay due to him; if you will make good our  
pay to us, we will go along with you. If you find nothing  
more in it, we will desire no more; but if we do convince you,  
that we have saved your lives, and the ship, and the lives of all  
the men in her, we will leave the rest to you.

I consented to this readily, and went immediately on board,  
and the two men with me. As soon as I came to the ship's side,  
my partner, who was on board, came on the quarter-deck, and  
called to me with a great deal of joy, *O ho! O ho!* we have  
stopped the leak! we have stopped the leak! Say you so, said I,  
bank Gov; but weigh the anchor then immediately: Weigh!  
says he, what do you mean by that? What is the matter? says  
he. Ask no questions, says I, but all hands to work, and weigh  
without losing a minute. He was surprised: But however, he  
called the captain, and he immediately ordered the anchor to be  
got up; and though the tide was not quite done, yet a little  
land-breeze blowing, we stood out to sea; then I called him into  
the cabin, and told him the story at large; and we called in the  
men, and they told us the rest of it: but as it took us up a great  
deal of time, so before we had done, a seaman comes to the cabin-  
door, and calls out to us, that the captain bade him tell us, we  
were chased: Chased, said I, by who, and by what? By five  
boops, or boats, says the fellow, full of men. Very well, said  
I; then it is apparent there is something in it. In the next  
place, I ordered all our men to be called up: and told them,  
that there was a design to seize the ship, and to take us for  
pirates; and asked them, if they would stand by us, and by one  
another: The men answered, cheerfully, that one and all,  
they would live and die with us. Then I asked the captain,

what way he thought best for us to manage a fight with them, for resist them I was resolved we would, and that to the last drop. He said, readily, that the way was to keep them off with our great shot as long as we could, and then to fire at them with our small arms, as long as we could, but when neither of these would do any longer, we should retire to our close quarters; perhaps they had not materials to break open our bulk heads, and get in upon us.

The gunner had, in the mean time, order to bring two guns to bear fore and aft, out of the steerage, to clear the deck, and loaded them with musquet-bullets, and small pieces of old iron, and what next came to hand; and thus we made ready for fight; but all this while kept out to sea, with wind enough, and could see the boats at a distance, being five large *long-boats* following us, with all the sail they could make.

Two of those boats, which, by our glasses, we could see were English, out-sailed the rest, were near two leagues a-head of them, and gained upon us considerably; so that we found they would come up with us: upon which we fired a gun without a

carry away the stern of the hindermost boat, and bring them to the necessity of taking down their sail, and running all to the head of the boat to keep her from sinking ; so she lay by, and had enough of it ; but seeing the foremost boat crowd on after us, we made ready to fire at her in particular.

While this was doing, one of the three boats that was behind, being forwarder than the other two, made up to the boat which we had disabled, to relieve her, and we could afterwards see her take out the men : we called again to the foremost boat, and offered a truce to parley again, and to know what was her business with us ; but had no answer : only she crowded close under our stern. Upon this our gunner, who was a very dexterous fellow, run out his two chase guns, and fired again at her ; but the shot missing, the men in the boat shouted, wavered their caps, and came on ; but the gunner, getting quickly ready again, fired among them the second time ; one shot of which, though it missed the boat itself, yet fell in among the men, and we could easily see had done a great deal of mischief among them ; but we, taking no notice of that, weared the ship again, and brought our quarter to bear upon them : and, firing three guns more, we found the boat was split almost to pieces ; in particular, her rudder, and a piece of her stern, was shot quite away ; so they handed their sail immediately, and were in great disorder : but, to complete their misfortune, our gunner let fly two guns at them again ; where he hit them we could not tell, but we found the boat was sinking, and some of the men already in the water. Upon this I immediately manned out our pinnace, which we had kept close by our side, with orders to pick up some of the men, if they could, and save them from drowning, and immediately to come on board with them ; because we saw the rest of the boats began to come up. Our men in the pinnace followed their orders, and took up three men ; one of which was just drowning, and it was a good while before we could recover him.

As soon as they were on board, we crowded all the sail we could make, and stood farther out to sea ; and we found that when the other three boats came up to the first two, they gave over their chase.

Being thus delivered from a danger, which though I knew not the reason of it, yet seemed to be much greater than I apprehended, I took care that we would change our course, and not let any one imagine whether we were going ; so we stood out to sea eastward, quite out of the course of all *European* ships, whether they were bound to *China*, or any where else, within the commerce of the *European* nations.

When we were now at sea, we began to consult with the two seamen, and inquire first, what the meaning of all this should be ? And the *Dutchman* let us into the secret of it at once ; telling us, that the fellow that sold us the ship, *as we said*, was no more than a thief that had run away with her. Then he told us how the captain, whose name too he told us, though I do not remember, was treacherously murdered by the natives on the coast of *Malacca*, with three of his men ; and that he, this *Dutchman*, and four more, got into the woods, where they wandered about a great while ; till at length, he, in particular, in a miraculous manner, made his escape, and swam off to a *Dutch* ship, which, sailing near the shore, in its way from *China*, had sent their boat on shore for fresh water ; that he durst not come to that part of the shore where the boat was, but shift in the night to take the water farther off, and the ship's boat took him up.

He then told us, that he went to *Batavia*, where two of the seamen belonging to the ship arrived, having deserted the rest in their travels ; and gave an account, that the fellow who had run away with the ship, sold her at *Bengal* to a set of pirates, which were gone a cruising in her ; and that they had already taken an *English* ship, and two *Dutch* ships, very richly laden.

This latter part we found to concern us directly ; and though we knew it to be false, yet, as my partner said very well, if we had fallen into their hands, and they had had such a prepossession against us before-hand, it had been in vain for us to have defended ourselves, or to hope for any good quarter at their hands ; and especially considering that our accusers had been our judges, and that we could have expected nothing from them but what rage would have dictated, and an ungoverned passion have executed ; and therefore it was his opinion, we should go directly back to *Bengal*, from whence we came, without putting in at any port whatever ; because there we could give a good account of ourselves, could prove where we were when the ship put in, who we bought her of, and the like ; and, which was more than all the rest, if we were put to the necessity of bringing it before the proper judges, we should be sure to have some justice ; and not be hanged first, and judged afterwards.

I was some time of my partner's opinion ; but after a little more serious thinking, I told him, I thought it was a very great hazard for us to attempt returning to *Bengal*, for that we were on the wrong side of the straits of *Malacca* ; and that if the alarm was given, we should be sure to be way-laid on every side, as well by the *Dutch* of *Batavia* as the *English* elsewhere ; that if we should be taken, as it were, running away, we should even condemn ourselves, and there would want no more evidence to destroy us. I also asked the *English* sailor's opinion, who said, he was of my mind, and that we should certainly be taken.

This danger a little startled my partner, and all the ship's company ; and we immediately resolved to go away to the coast of *Tonquin*, and so on to the coast of *China* ; and pursuing the first design, as to trade, find some way or other to dispose of the ship, and come back in some of the vessels of the country, such as we could get. This was approved of as the best method for our security ; and accordingly we steered away N. N. E. keep-

ing above fifty leagues off from the usual course to the eastward.

This, however, put us to some inconveniences; for first the winds, when we came to the distance from the shore, seemed to be more steadily against us, blowing almost *trade*, *as we call it*, from the east and E. N. E. so that we were a long while upon our voyage; and we were but ill provided with victuals for so long a voyage; and, which was still worse, there was some danger, that those *English* and *Dutch* ships, whose boats pursued us, whereof some were bound that way, might be got in before us; and if not, some other ship, bound to *China*, might have information of us from them, and pursue us with the same vigour.

I must confess, I was now very uneasy, and thought myself, including the late escape from the long-boats, to have been in the most dangerous condition that ever I was in through all my past life; for, whatever ill circumstances I had been in, I was never pursued for a thief before; nor had I ever done any thing

particularly the missionary priests usually went thither, in order to their going forward to *China*.

Hither then we resolved to go; and accordingly, though after tedious and irregular course, and very much straitened for provisions, we came within sight of the coast very early in the morning; and, upon reflection upon the past circumstances we were in, and the danger if we had not escaped, we resolved to put into a small river, which, however, had depth enough of water for us, and to see if we could, either over land or by the ship's pinnace, come to know what ships were in any port thereabouts. This happy step was, indeed, our deliverance; for though we did not immediately see any *European* ships in the bay of *Torquin*, yet, the next morning, there came into the bay two *Dutch* ships, and a third without any colours spread out, but which we believed to be a *Dutchman*, passed by at about two leagues distance, steering for the coast of *China*; and in the afternoon went by two *English* ships, steering the same course; and thus, we thought, we saw ourselves beset with enemies, both one way and the other. The place we were in was wild and barbarous, the people thieves, even by occupation or profession; and though, it is true, we had not much to seek of them, and except getting a few provisions, cared not how little we had to do with them; yet it was with much difficulty that we kept ourselves from being insulted by them several ways.

We were in a small river of this country, within a few leagues of its utmost limits northward; and by our boat we coasted north-east to the point of land which opens the great bay of *Torquin*; and it was in this beating up along the shore, that we discovered as above, that, in a word, we were surrounded with enemies. The people we were among were the most barbarous of all the inhabitants of the coast; having no correspondence with any other nation, and dealing only in fish and oil, and such gross commodities; and it may be particularly seen, that they are, as I said, the most barbarous of any of the inhabitants, viz.

that among other customs they have this as one, that if any vessel have the misfortune to be shipwrecked upon their coast, they presently make their men all prisoners or slaves; and it was not long before we found a spice of their kindness this way, on the occasion following.

I have observed above, that our ship sprang a leak at sea, and that we could not find it out; and however it happened, that as I have said, it was stopped unexpectedly, in the happy minute of our being to be seized by the *Dutch* and *English* ships, in the bay of *Siam*; yet, as we did not find the ship so perfectly fit and sound as we desired, we resolved, while we were in this place, to lay her on shore, take out what heavy things we had on board, which were not many, and to wash and clean her bottom; and it was possible, to find out where the leaks were.

Accordingly, having lightened the ship, and brought all our guns, and other moveable things, to one side, we tried to bring her down, that we might come at her bottom; but, on second thoughts, we did not care to lay her dry on ground, neither could

they discovered us all hard at work on the outside of the ship's bottom and side, washing and graving, and stopping, as every seafaring man knows how.

They stood for a while gazing at us, and we, who were a little surprised, could not imagine what their design was; but being willing to be sure, we took this opportunity to get some of us into the ship, and others to hand down arms and ammunition to those that were at work to defend themselves with, if there should be occasion; and it was no more than need; for, in less than a quarter of an hour's consultation, they agreed, it seems, that the ship was really a wreck; that we were all at work, endeavouring to save her, or to save our lives by the help of our boats; and when we handed our arms into the boats, they concluded, by that motion, that we were endeavouring to save some of our goods. Upon this they took it for granted we all belonged to them; and away they came down upon our men, as if it had been in a line of battle.

Our men, seeing so many of them, began to be frightened; for we lay but in an ill posture to fight, and cried out to us to know what they should do? I immediately called to the men who worked upon the stages, to slip them down, and get up the side into the ship; and bade those in the boat to row round and come on board; and those few of us who were on board, worked with all the strength and hands we had, to bring the ship to rights; but however, neither the men upon the stage nor those in the boats, could do as they were ordered, before the Cochinchinese were upon them; and with two of their boats boarded our long-boat, and began to lay hold of the men as their prisoners.

The first man they laid hold of was an English seaman, a stout strong fellow, who having a musquet in his hand, never offered to fire it, but laid it down in the boat, like a fool, as I thought. But he understood his business better than I could teach him; for he grappled the pagan, and dragged him by main force out

of their own boat into ours ; where, taking him by the two ~~as~~, he beat his head so against the boat's gunnel, that the fellow ~~was~~ instantly in his hands ; and, in the mean time, a *Dutchman*, who stood next, took up the musquet, and with the butt-end of it, ~~was~~ laid about him, that he knocked down five of them who attempted to enter the boat : but this was doing little towards resisting thirty or forty men, who fearless, because ignorant of their danger, began to throw themselves into the long-boat, where we had but five men in all to defend it : but one accident gave our men a complete victory, which deserved our laughter rather than any thing else ; and that was this—

Our carpenter being preparing to grave the outside of the ship, as well as to pay the seams where he had caulked her, to stop the leaks, had got two kettles just let down into the boat ; one filled with boiling pitch, and the other with rosin, tallow, and oil, and such stuff as the shipwrights use for that work ; and the man that tended the carpenter had a great iron ladle in his hand, with which he supplied the men that were at work with that hot stuff : two of the enemy's men entered the boat just where this fellow stood, being in the fore-sheets ; he immediately saluted them with a ladleful of the stuff, boiling hot, which so burnt and scalded them, being half-naked, that they roared out like two bulls, and enraged with the fire, leaped both into the sea. The carpenter saw it, and cried out, Well done, *Jack*, give them some more of it ; and stepping forward himself, takes one of their mops, and dipping it in the pitch-pot, he and his man threw it among them so plentifully, that, in short, of all the men in three boats, there was not one that was not scalded and burnt with it in a most frightful pitiful manner, and made such a howling and crying that I never heard a worse noise, and, indeed, nothing like it ; for it is worth observing, that though pain naturally makes all people cry out, yet every nation has a particular way of exclamation, and make noises as different from one

another as their speech. I cannot give the noise these creatures made, a better name than howling, nor a name more proper to the tone of it; for I never heard any thing more like the noise of the wolves, which, as I have said, I heard howl in the forest on the frontiers of *Languedoc*.

I was never pleased with a victory better in my life; not only as it was a perfect surprise to me, and that our danger was imminent before; but as we got this victory without any blood-shed, except of that man the fellow killed with his naked hands, and which I was very much concerned at; for I was sick of killing such poor savage wretches, even though it was in my own defence, knowing they came on errands which they thought just, and knew no better: and that though it may be a just thing, because necessary, for there is no necessary wickedness in nature; yet I thought it was a sad life, which we must be always obliged to be killing our fellow-creatures to preserve; and, indeed, I think so still; and I would, even now, suffer a great deal, rather than I would take away the life even of that person injuring me. And I believe all considering people, who know the value of life, would be of my opinion, at least they would, if they entered seriously into the consideration of it.

But to return to my story: all the while this was doing, my partner and I, who managed the rest of the men on board, had, with great dexterity brought the ship almost to rights; and, having gotten the guns into their places again, the gunner called to me, to bid our boat get out of the way, for he would let fly among them. I called back again to him, and bid him not offer to fire, for the carpenter would do the work without him; but bade him heat another pitch-kettle, which our cook, who was on board, took care of. But the enemy was so terrified with what they had met with in their first attack, that they would not come on again; and some of them, that were farthest off, seeing the ship swim, as it were, upright, began, as we supposed, to see

dispose of for us.

We therefore got all our things ready and the next morning was ready lying at an anchor at some distance, being now in a fighting posture, if any enemy had pressed us. We had finished our work within board, and were perfectly healed of all her leaks, we went into the bay of *Tonquin*, for we did not know what was to be known concerning there; but we durst not stand in the bay, for several ships go in, as we supposed, to be kept on N. E. towards the isle of *Quảng Ninh*, being seen by a *Dutch* or *English* merchant ship in the *Me* river, and a man of war.

When we were thus got to sea, we would go to the *Me* river.

and may be owing to the remains of Christianity, which was once planted here by a *Dutch* missionary of protestants, and is a testimony of what I have often observed, *viz.* That the Christian religion always civilizes the people, and reforms their manners, where it is received, whether it works saving effects upon them or no.

From hence we sailed still north, keeping the coast of *China* at an equal distance, till we knew we were beyond all the ports of *China*, where our *European* ships usually come; being resolved, if possible, not to fall into any of their hands, especially in this country, where, as our circumstances were, we could not fail of being entirely ruined; nay, so great was my fear in particular, as to my being taken by them, that I believe firmly I would much rather have chosen to fall into the hands of the *Spanish Inquisition*.

Being now come to the latitude of 30 degrees, we resolved to put into the first trading port we should come at; and standing in for the shore, a boat came off two leagues to us, with an old *Portuguese* pilot on board, who knowing us to be an *European* ship, came to offer his service, which, indeed, we were very glad of, and took him on board; upon which, without asking us whether we would go, he dismissed the boat he came in, and sent them back.

I thought it was now so much in our choice to make the old man carry us whether we would, that I began to talk with him about carrying us to the Gulph of *Nanquin*, which is the most northern part of the coast of *China*. The old man said he knew the Gulph of *Nanquin* very well; but smiling, asked us what we would do there?

I told him we would sell our cargo, and purchase *China* wares, calicoes, raw silks, tea, wrought silks, &c. and so would return by the same course we came. He told us our best port had been to have put in at *Macas*, where we could not have failed of

a market for our opium, to our satisfaction, and might, for our money, have purchased all sorts of *China* goods as cheap as we could at *Nanquin*.

Not being able to put the old man out of his talk, of which he was very opiniated or conceited, I told him we were gentlemen as well as merchants, and that we had a mind to go and see the great city of *Pekin*, and the famous court of the monarch of *China*. Why then, says the old man, you should go to *Ningpo*, where, by the river which runs into the sea there, you may go up within five leagues of the *great canal*. This canal is a navigable river, which goes through the heart of that vast empire of *China*, crosses all the rivers, passes some considerable hills by the help of sluices and gates, and goes up to the city of *Pekin*, being in length near 270 leagues.

Well, said I, *Seignior Portuguese*, but that is not our business now: the great question is, If you can carry us up to the city of *Nanquin*, from whence we can travel to *Pekin* afterwards? Yes, he said, he could do so very well, and that there was a great *Dutch* ship gone up that way just before. This gave me a little shock; and a *Dutch* ship was now our terror, and we had much rather have met the devil, at least if he had not come in too frightful a figure: and we depended upon it, that a *Dutch* ship would be our destruction, for we were in no condition to fight them; all the ships they trade with in those parts being of great burden, and of much greater force than we were.

The old man found me a little confused, and under some concern, when he named a *Dutch* ship; and said to me, Sir, you need be under no apprehension of the *Dutch*, I suppose they are not now at war with your nation. No, said I, that's true; but I know not what liberties men may take, when they are out of the reach of the laws of their country. Why, said he, *you are no pirates*, what need you fear? They will not meddle with peaceable merchants, sure.

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If I had any blood in my body that ~~did not~~ fly up ~~my~~ face at that word, it was hindered by ~~some~~ stop in the ~~ways~~ appointed by nature to prevent it; for it ~~put me into the~~ greatest disorder and confusion imaginable; nor was it possible ~~for me~~ to conceal it so, but that the old man easily perceived it.

Sir, said he, I find you are in some disorder in your thoughts at my talk: pray be pleased to go which way you think fit; and depend upon it, I will do you all the service I can. Why, Seignior, said I, it is true, I am a little unsettled in my resolution at this time, whither to go in particular; and I am something more so, for what you said about *pirates*: I hope there are no pirates in these seas; we are but in an ill condition to meet with them; for you see we have but a small force, and but very weakly manned.

O, Sir, said he, do not be concerned; I do not know that there has been any pirates in these seas these fifteen years, except one, which was seen, as I hear, in the bay of *Siam*, about a month since; but you may be assured she is gone to the southward; nor was she a ship of any great force, or fit for the work: she was not built for a privateer, but was run away with by a reprobate crew that were on board, after the captain and some of his men had been murdered by the *Malaccans*, at or near the island of *Sumatra*.

What! said I, *seeming to know nothing of the matter*, did they murder the captain? No, said he, I do not understand that they murdered him; but as they afterwards run away with the ship, it is generally believed they betrayed him into the hands of the *Malaccans*, who did murder him; and, perhaps, they procured them to do it. Why then, said I, they deserved death, as much as if they had done it themselves. Nay, said the old man, they do deserve it; and they will certainly have it if they light upon any *English* or *Dutch* ship; for they have all agreed together, that if they meet that rogue, they will give him no quarter.

But, said I to him, you say the pirate is gone out of the seas; how can they meet with him then? Why, that is true, said he, they do say so; but he was, as I tell you, in the bay of Siam, in the river *Cambodia*, and was discovered there by some Dutchmen, who belonged to the ship, and who were left on shore when they run away with her; and some English and Dutch traders being in the river, they were within a little of taking him. Nay, said he, if the foremost boats had been well seconded by the rest, they had certainly taken him; but he, finding only two boats within reach of him, tacked about, and fired at these two, and disabled them before the other came up; and then standing off to sea, the other were not able to follow him, and so he got away. But they have all so exact a description of the ship, that they will be sure to know him; and wherever they find him, they have vowed to give no quarter to either the captain or scummen, but to hang them all up at the yard-arm.

What I said I, will they execute them right or wrong; hang them first and judge them afterwards? O. Sir. said the old

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guilty without due inquiry ; and perhaps I ~~may~~ live to ~~call~~ of them to an account for it, where they ~~may~~ be ~~taught~~ justice is to be executed ; and that no man ~~ought~~ to be ~~death~~ as a criminal till some evidence may be had of the ~~crime~~, and that he is the man.

With this I told him, that this was the very ship they attacked ; and gave him a full account of the skirmish we had with their boats, and how foolishly and coward-like they behaved. I told him all the story of our buying the ship, and how the *Dutchmen* served us. I told him the reasons I had to believe that this story of killing the master by the *Malaccans* was true ; as also the running away with the ship ; but that it was all a fiction of their own, to suggest that the men were turned *pirates* ; and they ought to have been sure it was so, before they had ventured to attack us by surprise, and oblige us to resist them ; adding, that they would have the blood of those men, who we killed there, in our just defence, to answer for.

The old man was amazed at this relation ; and told us, we were very much in the right to go away to the *north* ; and that if he might advise us, it should be to sell the ship in *China*, which we might very well do, and buy or build another in the country : and, said he, though you will not get so good a ship, yet you may get one able enough to carry you and all your goods back again to *Bengal*, or any where else.

I told him I would take his advice, when I came to any port where I could find a ship for my turn, or get any customer to buy this. He replied, I should meet with customers enough for the ship at *Nanquin*, and that a *Chinese* junk would serve me very well to go back again ; and that he would procure me people both to buy one, and sell the other.

Well, but, *Seignior*, says I, as you say they know the ship so well, I may, perhaps, if I follow your measures, be instrumental to bring some honest innocent men into a terrible broil, and,

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came to an anchor at the south-west point of the great gulph of *Nanquin* : where, by the way, I came by accident to understand, that two *Dutch* ships were gone that length before me, and that I should certainly fall into their hands. I consulted my partner again in this exigency, and he was as much at a loss as I was, and would very gladly have been safe on shore almost anywhere. However, I was not in such perplexity neither, but I asked the old pilot if there was no creek, or harbour, which I might put into, and pursue my business with the *Chinese* privately, and be in no danger of the enemy? He told me, if I would sail to the southward about two and forty leagues, there was a little port called *Quinchang*, where the fathers of the mission usually landed from *Macao*, on their progress to teach the Christian religion to the *Chinese*, and where no *European* ships ever put in ; and if I thought to put in there, I might consider what farther course to take when I was on shore. He confessed, he said, it was not a place for merchants, except that at some certain times they had a kind of a fair there, when the merchants from *Japan* came over thither to buy the *Chinese* merchandizes.

We all agreed to go back to this place : the name of the port, as he called it, I may, perhaps, spell wrong ; for I do not particularly remember it, having lost this, together with the names of many other places set down in a little pocket-book, which was spoiled by the water, on an accident which I shall relate in its order ; but this I remember, that the *Chinese* or *Japanese* merchants we corresponded with call it by a differing name from that which our *Portuguese* pilot gave it, and pronounced it as above *Quinchang*.

As we were unanimous in our resolutions to go to this place, we weighed the next day, having only gone twice on shore, where we were to get fresh water ; on both which occasions the people of the country were very civil to us, and brought us

abundance of things *to sell to us*; *I mean of provisions*, plant roots, tea, rice, and some fowls; but nothing without money.

We came to the other port (the wind being contrary) not  $\frac{1}{2}$  five days; but it was very much to our satisfaction; and I was joyful, and, I may say, thankful, when I set my foot safe on shore, resolving, and my partner too, that if it was possible to dispose of ourselves and effects any other way, though not every way to our satisfaction, we would never set one foot on board the unhappy vessel more: and indeed, I must acknowledge, that of all the circumstances of life that ever I had any experience of, nothing makes mankind so completely miserable as that of being in constant fear. Well does the scripture say, "*the fear of man brings a snare*;" it is a life of death; and the mind is so entirely suppressed by it, that it is capable of no relief; the animal spirits sink, and all the vigour of nature, which usually supports men under other afflictions, and is present to them in the greatest exigencies, fails them here.

Nor did it fail of its usual operations upon the fancy, by

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see that we were a mixture of *English*, *Portuguese*, ~~and Indian~~ and but two *Dutchmen* on board. These, and many other particular circumstances, might have made it evident to the understanding of any commander, whose hands we might fall into, that we were no pirates.

But fear, that blind useless passion, worked another way, and threw us into the vapours ; it bewildered our understandings, and set the imagination at work, to form a thousand terrible things, that, perhaps, might never happen. We first supposed, as indeed every body had related to us, that the seamen on board the *English* and *Dutch* ships, but especially the *Dutch*, were so enraged at the name of a pirate, and especially at our beating of their boats, and escaping, that they would not give themselves leave to inquire whether we were pirates or no ; but would execute us off-hand, as we call it, without giving us any room for a defence. We reflected that there was really so much apparent evidence before them, that they would scarce enquire after any more ; as, first, that the ship was certainly the same, and that some of the seamen among them knew her, and had been on board her ; and, secondly, that when we had intelligence at the river of *Cambodia*, that they were coming down to examine us, we fought their boat, and fled. So that we made no doubt but they were fully satisfied of our being pirates as we were satisfied of the contrary ; and as I often said, I know not but I should have been apt to have taken those circumstances for evidence, if the tables were turned, and my case was theirs ; and have made no scruple of cutting all the crew to pieces, without believing, or perhaps considering, what they might have to offer in their defence.

But let that be how it will, those were our apprehensions ; and both my partner and I too, scarce slept a night without dreaming of halters and yard-arms ; that is to say, gibbets ; of fighting, and being taken ; of killing and being killed ; and one

night I was in such a fury in my dream, fancying the *Dutch* had boarded us, and I was knocking one of their seamen down, that I struck my double fist against the side of the cabin I lie in, with such a force as wounded my hand most grievously, broke my knuckles, and cut and bruised the flesh, so that it not only waked me out of my sleep, but I was once afraid I shouk have lost two of my fingers.

Another apprehension I had, was, of the cruel usage we might meet with from them, if we fell into their hands: then the son of *Amboyna* came into my head, and how the *Dutch* might, perhaps, torture us, as they did our countrymen there; and make some of our men, by extremity of torture, confess those crimes they never were guilty of; own themselves, and all of us, to be pirates; and so they would put us to death, with a formal appearance of justice; and that they might be tempted to do this for the gain of our ship and cargo, which was worth four or five thousand pound, put all together.

These things tormented me, and my partner too, night and

my youth, should now come to be hanged in my old age, and in so remote a place, for a crime I was not in the least inclined to, much less really guilty of; and in a place and circumstance, where innocence was not like to be any protection at all to me.

After these thoughts, something of religion would come in; and I should be considering that this seemed to me to be a disposition of immediate Providence; and I ought to look upon it, and submit to it, as such: that although I was innocent as to men, I was far from being innocent as to my Maker; and I ought to look in, and examine what other crimes in my life were most obvious to me, and for which Providence might justly inflict this punishment as a retribution; and that I ought to submit to this, just as I would to a shipwreck, if it had pleased God to have brought such a disaster upon me.

In its turn, natural courage would sometimes take its place; and then I would be talking myself up to vigorous resolution, that I would not be taken to be barbarously used by a parcel of merciless wretches in cold blood; that it were much better to have fallen into the hands of the savages, who were man-eaters, and who, I was sure, would feast upon me when they had taken me, than by those who would, perhaps, glut their rage upon me by inhuman tortures and barbarities; that, in the case of the savages, I always resolved to die fighting, to the last grasp; and why should I not do so, seeing it was much more dreadful, *to me at least*, to think of falling into these men's hands, than ever it was to think of being eaten by men: for the savages, give them their due, would not eat a man till he was dead; and killed him first, as we do a bullock; but that these men had many arts beyond the cruelty of death. Whenever these thoughts prevailed, I was sure to put myself in a kind of fever, with the agitations of a supposed fight; my blood would boil, and my eyes sparkle, as if I was engaged; and I always resolved that I would take no quarter at their hands; but even at last, if I could

resist no longer, I would blow up the ship, and all that was in her, and leave them but little booty to boast of.

By how much the greater weight the anxieties and perplexities of these things were to our thoughts while we were at sea, by so much the greater was our satisfaction, when we saw ourselves on shore; and my partner told me, he dreamed, that he had a very heavy load upon his back, which he was to carry up a hill, and found that he was not able to stand long under it; but that the *Portuguese* pilot came, and took it off of his back, and the hill disappeared, the ground before him shewing all smooth and plain: and truly it was so; we were all like men who had a load taken off of their backs.

For my part, I had a weight taken off from my heart, that it was not able any longer to bear; and, as I said above, we resolved to go no more to sea in that ship. When we came on shore, the old pilot, who was now our friend, got us a lodging, and a warehouse for our goods, which, by the way, was much the same: it was a little house or hut, with a larger house in

here in town, and who had been there some time, converting the people to Christianity ; but we thought they made but poor work of it ; and made them but sorry Christians when they had done. However, that was none of our business. One of these was a *Frenchman*, who they called father *Simon* ; he was a jolly well-conditioned man, very free in his conversation, not seeming so serious and grave as the other two did, one of whom was a *Portuguese*, and the other a *Genoese* ; but father *Simon* was courteous, easy in his manner, and very agreeable company ; the other two were more reserved, seemed rigid and austere, and applied seriously to the work they came about, *viz.* to talk with and insinuate themselves among the inhabitants, wherever they had opportunity : we often eat and drank with those men : and though I must confess, the conversion, as they call it, of the *Chinese* to Christianity, is so far from the true conversion required to bring heathen people to the faith of *Christ*, that it seems to amount to little more than letting them know the name of *Christ*, and say some prayers to the *Virgin Mary* and her Son, in a tongue which they understand not, and to cross themselves, and the like ; yet it must be confessed, that these religious, who we call *Missionaries*, have a firm belief that these people shall be saved, and that they are the instruments of it ; and, on this account, they undergo not the fatigue of the voyage, and the hazards of living in such places, but oftentimes death itself, with the most violent tortures, for the sake of this work : and it would be a great want of charity in us, whatever opinion we have of the work itself, and the manner of their doing it, if we should not have a good opinion of their zeal, who undertook it with so many hazards, and who have no prospect of the least temporal advantage to themselves.

But, to return to my story : This *French* priest, father *Simon*, was appointed, it seems, by order of the chief of the mission, to go up to *Pekin*, the royal seat of the *Chinese* emperor . and

waited only for another priest, who was ordered to come to me from Macao, to go along with him ; and we scarce ever met together, but he was inviting me to go that journey, telling me how he would shew me all the glorious things of that mighty empire ; and among the rest, the greatest city in the world : city, said he, that your *London*, and our *Paris*, put together cannot be equal to. This was the city of *Pekin*, which, I confess, is very great, and infinitely full of people ; but, as I look on those things with different eyes from other men, so I shall give my opinion of them in few words, when I come, in the course of my travels, to speak more particularly of them.

But first, I come to my friar or missionary. Dining with him one day, and being very merry together, I shewed very little inclination to go with him ; and he pressed me and my partner very hard, and with a great many persuasions, to consent. Why, father *Simon*, says my partner, why should you desire our company so much ? You know we are heretics, and you do not love us, nor can not keep us company with any pleasure.

gion, that my other good ecclesiastic had, of whom I have said so much.

But to leave him a little, though he never left us, nor soliciting us to go with him, but we had something else before us at first; for we had, all this while, our ship and our merchandize to dispose of; and we began to be very doubtful what we should do, for we were now in a place of very little business; and once I was about to venture to sail for the river of *Kilam*, and the city of *Nanquin*: but Providence seemed now more visibly, as I thought, than ever, to concern itself in our affair; and I was encouraged from this very time to think I should, one way or other, get out of this tangled circumstance, and be brought home to my own country again; though I had not the least view of the manner; and when I began sometimes to think of it, could not imagine by what method it was to be done. Providence, I say, began here to clear up our way a little; and the first thing that offered was, that our old Portuguese pilot brought a *Japan* merchant to us, who began to inquire what goods we had; and, in the first place, he bought all our opium, and gave us a very good price for it, paying us in gold by weight, some in small pieces of their own coin, and some in small weights, of about ten or eleven ounces each. While we were dealing with him for our opium, it came into my head that he might, perhaps, deal with us for the ship too; and I ordered the interpreter to propose it to him. He shrunk up his shoulders at it, when it was first proposed to him; but, in a few days after, he came to me, with one of the missionary priests for his interpreter, and told me, he had a proposal to make to me, and that was this: He had bought a great quantity of goods of us when he had no thoughts (or proposals made to him) of buying the ship; and that, therefore, he had not money enough to pay for the ship; but if I would let the same men who were in the ship navigate her, he would hire the ship to go to *Japan*.

and would send them from thence to the *Philippine* islands to another loading, which he would pay the freight of, before he went from *Japan*; and that, at their return, he would buy the ship. I began to listen to his proposal; and so eager did my head still run upon rambling, that I could not but begin to entertain a notion of going myself with him, and so to sail for the *Philippine* islands away to the South Seas; and accordingly I asked the Japanese merchant, if he would not hire us to the *Philippine* islands, and discharge us there. He said, no, he could not do that; for then he could not have the return of his cargo; but he would discharge us in *Japan*, he said, at the ship's return. Well, still I was for taking him at that proposal, and going myself: but my partner, wiser than myself, persuaded me from it, representing the dangers, as well of the seas as of the Japanese, who are a false, cruel, and treacherous people and then of the Spaniards at the *Philippines*; more false, more cruel, and more treacherous than they.

But, to bring this long turn of our affairs to a conclusion

inclined to let him go ; but first I told him I would consult my partner, and give him an answer the next day. My partner and I discoursed about it ; and my partner made a most generous offer : he told me, you know it has been an unlucky ship, and we both resolve not to go to sea in it again ; if your steward (*so he called my man*) will venture the voyage, I will leave my share of the vessel to him, and let him make the best of it ; and if we live to meet in *England*, and he meets with success abroad, he shall account for one half of the profits of the ship's freight to us, the other shall be his own.

If my partner, who was no way concerned with my young man, made him such an offer, I could do no less than offer him the same ; and all the ship's company being willing to go with him, we made over half the ship to him in property, and took a writing from him, obliging him to account for the other ; and away he went to *Japan*. The *Japan* merchant proved a very punctual honest man to him, protected him at *Japan*, and got him licence to come on shore, which the *Europeans* in general have not lately obtained ; paid him his freight very punctually, sent him to the *Philippines*, loaded with *Japan* and *China* wares, and a supercargo of their own, who trafficking with the *Spaniards*, brought back *European* goods again, and a great quantity of cloves, and other spice ; and there he was not only paid his freight very well, and at a very good price, but being not willing to sell the ship then, the merchant furnished him with goods on his own account ; that, for some money, and some spices of his own, which he brought with him, he went back to the *Manilas*, to the *Spaniards*, where he sold his cargo very well. Here, having gotten a good acquaintance at *Manilla*, he got his ship made a free ship ; and the governor of *Manilla* hired him to go to *Acapulco* in *America*, on the coast of *Mexico* ; and gave him a licence to land there, and travel to *Mexico* ; and to pass in any *Spanish* ship to *Europe*, with all his men.

and would send them from thence to the *Philippine* islands with another loading, which he would pay the freight of, before they went from *Japan*; and that, at their return, he would buy the ship. I began to listen to his proposal; and so eager did my head still run upon rambling, that I could not but begin to ascertain a notion of going myself with him, and so to sail from the *Philippine* islands away to the South Seas; and accordingly I asked the Japanese merchant, if he would not hire us to the *Philippine* islands, and discharge us there. He said, no, he could not do that; for then he could not have the return of his cargo; but he would discharge us in *Japan*, he said, at the ship's return. Well, still I was for taking him at that proposal, and going myself: but my partner, wiser than myself, persuaded me from it, representing the dangers, as well of the seas as of the *Japanese*, who are a false, cruel, and treacherous people; and then of the *Spaniards* at the *Philippines*; more false, more cruel, and more treacherous than they.

But, to bring this long turn of our affairs to a conclusion; the first thing we had to do, was to consult with the captain of the ship, and with his men, and know if they were willing to go to *Japan*; and, while I was doing this, the young man, who, as I said, my nephew had left with me as my companion for my travels, came to me and told me, that he thought that voyage promised very fair, and that there was a great prospect of advantage, and he would be very glad if I undertook it; but that if I would not, and would give him leave, he would go as a merchant, or how I pleased to order him; that if ever he came to *England*, and I was there, and alive, he would render me a faithful account of his success, and it should be as much mine as I pleased.

I was really loth to part with him: but, considering the prospect of advantage, which was really considerable, and that he was a young fellow as likely to do well in it as any I knew, I

OFF from home, and perfectly destitute of all manner of  
t of return.

We had for it was this ; that in about four months' time  
is to be another fair at the place where we were, and then  
we be able to purchase all sorts of the manufactures of the  
s and withal might possibly find some Chinese junks or  
from *Tonquin*, that would be to be sold, and would carry  
our goods whither we pleased. This I liked very well,  
dared to wait ; besides, as our particular persons were not  
us, so if any English or Dutch ships came thither, perhaps  
we have an opportunity to load our goods, and get passage  
other place in *India* nearer home.

These hopes we resolved to continue here ; but, to divert  
is, we took two or three journeys into the country ; first,  
a ten days' journey to see the city of *Nangrin*, and a city  
eth seeing indeed : they say it has a million of people in  
th, however, I do not believe. It is regularly built, the  
ill exactly straight, and cross one another in direct lines,  
gives the figure of it great advantage.

When I come to compare the miserable people of these  
is with our's ; their fabrics, their manner of living, their  
uent, their religion, their wealth, and their glory (as some  
I must confess, I do not so much as think it is worth  
; or worth my while to write of, or any that shall come  
s to read.

Very observable, that we wonder at the grandeur, the  
the pomp, the ceremonies, the government, the manufac-  
the commerce, and the conduct of these people ; not that  
we wondered at, or, indeed, in the least to be regarded ;  
use, having first a true notion of the barbarity of those  
s, the rudeness, and the ignorance that prevails there, we  
expect to find any such things so far off.

ewise, what are their buildings to the palaces and royal

buildings of *Europe*? What their trade to the universal commerce of *England, Holland, France, and Spain*? What are their cities to our's, for wealth, strength, gaiety of apparel, rich furniture, and an infinite variety? What are their ports, supplied with a few junks and barks, to our navigation, our merchant fleets, our large and powerful navies? Our city of *London* has more trade than all their mighty empire. One *English, a Dutch, or French* man of war of eighty guns, would fight and destroy all the shipping of *China*. But the greatness of their wealth, their trade, the power of their government, and strength of their armies, is surprising to us, because, as I have said, considering them as a barbarous nation of pagans, little better than savages, we did not expect such things among them; and this indeed, is the advantage with which all their greatness and power is represented to us: otherwise, it is in itself nothing at all; for, as I have said of their ships, so may be said of their armies and troops; all the forces of their empire, though they were to bring two millions of men into the field together, would be able to do

ted, clumsy, and uncertain in going off; they have powder, but it is of no strength; they have neither discipline in the field, exercise to their arms, skill to attack, or temper to retreat: and therefore I must confess it seemed strange to me when I came hither, and heard our people say such fine things of the power, riches, glory, magnificence, and trade of the *Chinese*, because I then knew that they were a contemptible horde or crowd of ignorant, sordid slaves, subjected to a government qualified only to rule such a people; and, in a word, for I am now launched into beside my design, I say, in a word, were not its distance inconceivably great from *Muscovy*, and was not the *Muscovite* empire almost as rude, impotent, and ill governed a crowd of savages as they, the czar of *Muscovy* might, with much ease, drive them all out of their country, and conquer them in one campaign; had the czar, who I since hear is a growing prince, and begins to appear formidable in the world, fallen this way, instead of attacking the warlike *Swedes*, in which attempt none of the powers of *Europe* would have envied or interrupted him, he might, by this time, have been emperor of *China*, instead of being beaten by the king of *Sweden* at *Narva*, when the latter was not one to six in number. As their strength and their valour, so their navigation, commerce, and husbandry, is imperfect and impotent, compared to the same things in *Europe*. Now, in their knowledge, their learning, their skill in the sciences; they have globes and spheres, and a smatch of the knowledge of mathematics; but when you come to inquire into their knowledge, how short-sighted are the wisest of their students! They know nothing of the motion of the heavenly bodies; and so grossly, absurdly ignorant, that when the sun is eclipsed, they think it is a great dragon has assaulted and ran away with it; and they fall a clattering with all the drums and kettles in the country, to fright the monster away, just as we do to drive a swarm of bees.

As this is the only excursion of this kind which I have made in all the account I have given of my travels, so I shall make no more descriptions of countries and people: it is none of my business, or any part of my design; but giving an account of my own adventures, through a life of inimitable wanderings, and a long variety of changes, which, perhaps, few that come after me will have heard the like of, I shall therefore say very little of all the mighty places, desert countries, and numerous people, I have yet to pass through, more than relates to my own story, and which my concern among them will make necessary. I was now, as near as I can compute, in the heart of *China*, about the latitude of thirty degrees north of the line, for we was returned from *Nanquin*: I had indeed a mind to see the city of *Pekin*, which I had heard so much of, and father *Simon* importuned me daily to do it. At length his time of going away being set, and the other missionary, who was to go with him, being arrived from *Macao*, it was necessary that we should resolve either to go, or not to go: so I referred him to my partner, and

of the provisions, collected it duly from us ; so that our travelling in the retinue of the mandarin, though it was a very great kindness to us, was not such a mighty favour in him, but was, indeed, a great advantage to him, considering there were above thirty other people travelled in the same manner besides us, under the protection of his retinue, or, as we may call it, under his convoy. This, I say, was a great advantage to him ; for the country furnished all the provisions for nothing, and he took all our money for them.

We were five-and-twenty days travelling to *Pekin*, through a country infinitely populous, but miserably cultivated ; the husbandry, the economy, and the way of living, miserable ; though they boast so much of the industry of the people : I say miserable ; and so it is ; if we, who understand how to live, were to endure it, or to compare it with our own ; but not so to these poor wretches, who know no other. The pride of these people is infinitely great, and exceeded by nothing but their poverty, which adds to that which I call their misery. And I must needs think the naked savages of *America* live much more happy, because, as they have nothing, so they desire nothing ; whereas these are proud and insolent, and, in the main, are mere beggars and drudges ; their ostentation is inexpressible, and is chiefly shewed in their clothes and building, and in the keeping multitudes of servants or slaves, and, which is to the last degree ridiculous, their contempt of all the world but themselves.

I must confess, I travelled more pleasantly afterwards, in the deserts and vast wildernesses of *Grand Tartary*, than here ; and yet the roads here are well paved, and well kept, and very convenient for travellers : but nothing was more awkward to me, than to see such a haughty, imperious, insolent people, in the midst of the grossest simplicity and ignorance ; for all their famed ingenuity is no more. And my friend, father *Simon*, and I, used to be very merry upon these occasions, to see the beggarly pride

of these people: for example, coming by the house of a country gentleman, as father *Simon* called him, about ten leagues off of the city of *Nanquin*, we had, first of all, the honour to ride with the master of the house about two miles; the state he rode in was a perfect *Don Quixotism*, being a mixture of pomp and poverty.

The habit of this greasy *Don* was very proper for a scarmouch, or merry-andrew, being a dirty calico, with all the tawdry and trapping of a fool's coat, such as hanging sleeves, tassels, and cuts and slashes almost on every side; it covered a taffety vest, as greasy as a butcher, and which testified, that his honour must needs be a most exquisite sloven.

His horse was a poor, lean, starved, hobbling creature, such as in *England* might sell for about thirty or forty shillings; and he had two slaves followed him on foot, to drive the poor creature along: he had a whip in his hand, and he belaboured the beast as fast about the head as his slaves did about the tail; and thus he rode by us with about ten or twelve servants: and we were







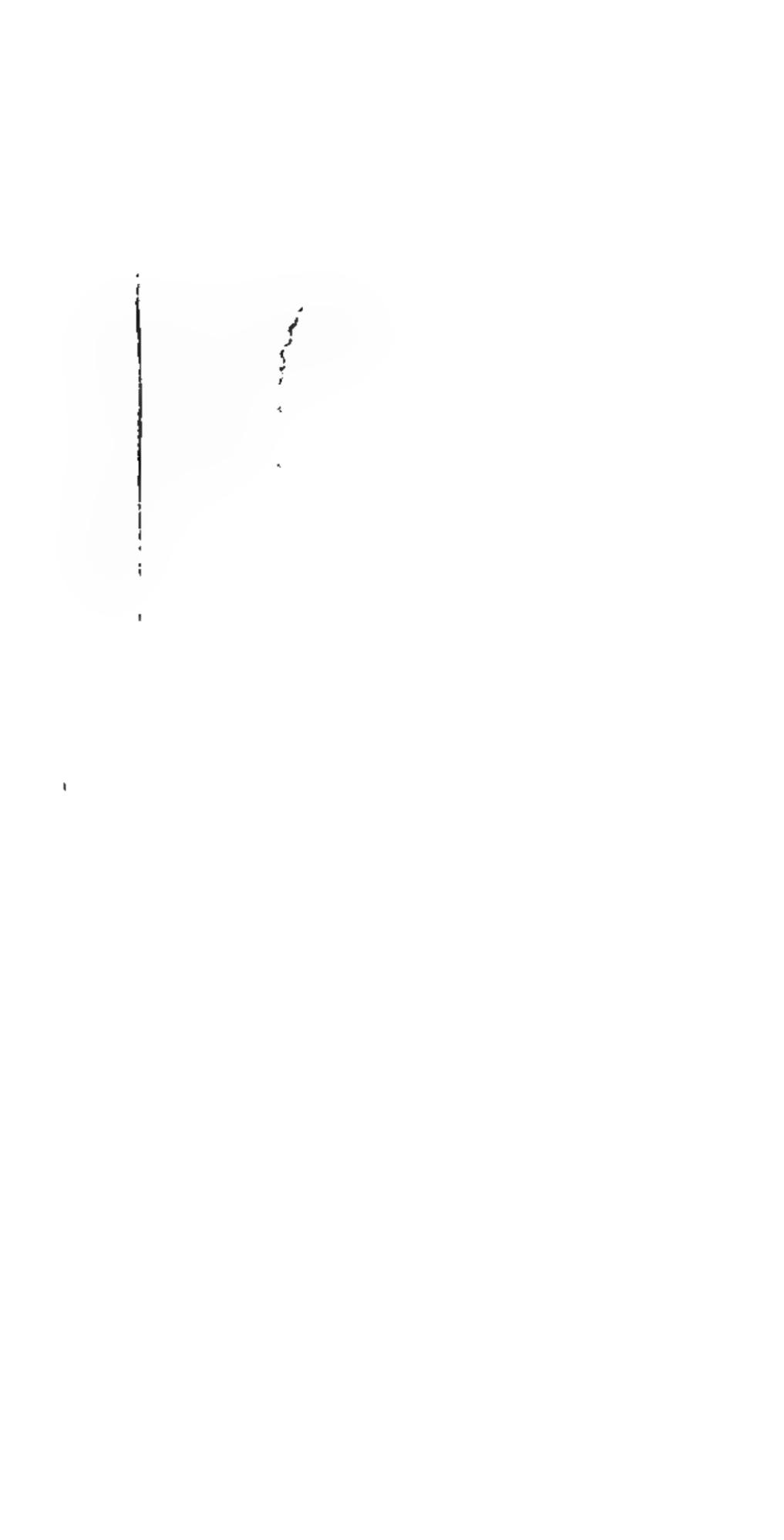


viz. one fed the squire with a spoon, and the other held the dish with one hand, and scraped off what he let fall upon his worship's beard and taffety vest; while the great fat brute thought it below him to employ his own hands in any of those familiar offices which kings and monarchs would rather do than be troubled with the clumsy fingers of their servants.

I took this time to think what pain men's pride puts them to, and how troublesome a haughty temper, thus ill-managed, must be to a man of common sense: and, leaving the poor wretch to please himself with our looking at him, as if we admired his pomp, whereas we really pitied and contemned him, we pursued our journey; only father *Simon* had the curiosity to stay to inform himself what dainties the country justice had to feed on, in all his state; which he said he had the honour to taste of, and which was, I think, a dose that an *English* hound would scarce have eaten, if it had been offered him, viz. a mess of boiled rice, with a great piece of garlick in it, and a little bag filled with green pepper, and another plant which they have there, something like our ginger, but smelling like musk, and tasting like mustard; all this was put together, and a small lump or piece of lean mutton boiled in it; and this was his worship's repast, four or five servants more attending at a distance. If he fed them meaner than he was fed himself, the spice excepted, they must fare very coarsely indeed.

As for our mandarin with whom we travelled, he was respected like a king; surrounded always with his gentlemen, and attended in all his appearances with such pomp, that I saw little of him but at a distance; but this I observed, that there was not a horse in his retinue, but that our carriers' pack-horses in *England* seemed to me to look much better; but they were so covered with equipage, mantles, trappings and such like trumpery, that you cannot see whether they are fat or lean. In a word, we could see scarce any thing but their feet and their heads.

I was now light-hearted, and all my trouble and perplexity



In short he told us there was a great caravan of *Muscovite* and *Isk* merchants in the city, and they were preparing to set out their journey, by land, to *Muscovy*, within four or five weeks, he was sure we would take the opportunity to go with them, leave him behind to go back all alone. I confess I was prised with his news : a secret joy spread itself over my whole body, which I cannot describe, and never felt before, or since ; I had no power, for a good while, to speak a word to the man ; but at last I turned to him : How do you know this ? I : are you sure it is true ? Yes, says he, I met this morning, in the street, an old acquaintance of mine, an *Armenian*, or one I call a *Grecian*, who is among them ; he came last from *Aspin*, and was designing to go to *Tonquin*, where I formerly saw him, but has altered his mind, and is now resolved to go with the caravan to *Moscow*, and so down the river *Volga* to *Yacca*. Well, Seignior, says I, do not be uneasy about being obliged to go back alone ; if this be a method for my return to *England*, it shall be your fault if you go back to *Macao* at all. I then went to consulting together what was to be done, and I told my partner what he thought of the pilot's news, and whether it would suit with his affairs : he told me he would do as I would ; for he had settled all his affairs so well at *Bengal* and left his effects in such good hands, that as we had made a good voyage here, if he could vest it in *China* silks, wrought in raw, such as might be worth the carriage, he would be content to go to *England*, and then make his voyage back to *Bengal* on the company's ships.

Having resolved upon this, we agreed, that if our *Portuguese* pilot would go with us, we would bear his charges to *Moscow*, or *England*, if he pleased ; nor, indeed, were we to be esteemed over generous in that part neither, if we had not rewarded him farther ; for the service he had done us was really worth all, and more ; for he had not only been a pilot to us at sea,

and horse, except only a horse to

Having settled this among  
him know what we had resolv  
plained of our being to let him &  
tell him we was resolved he shou  
had resolved to go to *Europe* wit  
he should go with us, and that w  
He shook his head, and said it w  
no *pecuse* to carry him thither,  
came there. We told him, we b  
we had resolved to do something  
see how sensible we were of the  
also how agreeable he was to us :  
had resolved to give him here, w  
would do our own ; and that as f  
with us, we would set him safe  
cepted) either in *Muscovy* or *En*  
our own shan-

It was the beginning of *February*, our style, when we set out from *Pekin*. My partner and the old pilot had gone express back to the port where we had first put in, to dispose of some goods which we had left there; and I, with a *Chinese* merchant, who I had some knowledge of at *Nanquin*, and who came to *Pekin* on his own affairs, went to *Nanquin*, where I bought ninety pieces of fine damasks, with about two hundred pieces of other very fine silks, of several sorts, some mixed with gold, and had all these brought to *Pekin* against my partner's return: besides this we bought a very large quantity of raw silk, and some other goods; our cargo amounting, in these goods only, to about three thousand five hundred pounds sterling, which, together with tea and some fine calicoes, and three camels' loads of nutmegs and cloves, loaded in all eighteen camels for our share, besides those we rode upon; which, with two or three spare horses, and two horses loaded with provisions, made us, in short, twenty six camels and horses in our retinue.

The company was very great, and, as near as I can remember, made between three and four hundred horse, and upward of a hundred and twenty men, very well armed, and provided for all events. For, as the eastern caravans are subject to be attacked by the *Arabs*, so are these by the *Tartars*; but they are not altogether so dangerous as the *Arabs*, nor so barbarous when they prevail.

The company consisted of people of several nations, such as, *Muscovites* chiefly; for there were above sixty of them who were merchants or inhabitants of *Moscow*, though of them some were *Livonians*; and, to our particular satisfaction, five of them were *Scots*, who appeared also to be men of great experience in business, and men of very good substance.

When we had travelled one day's journey, the guides, who were five in number, called all the gentlemen and merchants; that is to say, all the passengers, except the servants, to a great council,

... turn of command. ,  
order any more than what we fo  
shall be observed in its place.

The road all on this side of the  
is full of potters and earth-make:  
tempered the earth for the *China*  
along, our *Portugal* pilot, who ha  
to say to make us merry, came sn  
would show the greatest rarity in all  
have this to say of *China*, after all  
said of it, that I had seen one thing  
all the world beside. I was very  
was; at last he told me, it was a  
with *China* ware. Well, says I, a  
building the product of their own c  
ware, is it not? No, no, says he, I  
of *China* ware such as you call it is  
in our country, *porcelain*. Well, :  
How 1:— . . . .

outside, which the sun shone hot upon, was glazed, and very well, perfect white, and painted with blue figures, *large China ware* in *England* is painted, and hard, as if it were burnt. As to the inside, all the walls, instead of wainscots lined up with hardened and painted tiles, like the little tiles we call gally tiles in *England*, all made of the finest and the figures exceeding fine indeed, with extraordinary of colours, mixed with gold, many tiles making but one but joined so artificially, the mortar being made of the earth, that it was very hard to see where the tiles met. Most of the rooms were of the same composition, and as to the earthen floors we have in use in several parts of *England*, especially *Lincolnshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Leicestershire*, hard as stone, and smooth, but not burnt, and painted, some smaller rooms, like closets, which were all, as it was paved with the same tile; the ceilings, and in a word, all stering-work in the whole house, were of the same earth; for all, the roof was covered with tiles of the same, but of shining black.

I was a *China ware* house indeed, truly and literally to be so; and, had I not been upon the journey, I could have nine days to see and examine the particulars of it. They told me there were fountains and fish ponds in the garden, all at the bottom and sides with the same, and fine statues in rows on the walks, entirely formed of the porcelain had burnt whole.

This is one of the singularities of *China*, so they may be told to excel in it; but I am very sure they excel in their *china* in *crockery-ware*, for such it is, that I care not to be knowing it could not be true. — They told me, in part of one workman that made a ship, with all its tackle, masts, and sails, in earthen-ware, big enough to carry fifty

....., and told me, it  
without the wall, as it was three  
me four times as much, and ma-  
cil day: so I promised to be ma-  
afterward the orders made for kee-  
necessary for our common safety

In two days' more we passed t  
fortification against the Tartars  
going over hills and mountains  
rocks are impassable, and the pre-  
possibly enter, or, indeed, climb  
wall could hinder them. They te-  
sand *English* miles; but that the  
straight measured line, which the  
ing the windings and turnings it  
high, and as many thick in some

I stood still an hour, or there-  
our orders, *for so long the caravan*  
I stood still

mean by that? Why you speak what looks white this way, and black that way; gay one way, and dull another way; you tell him it is a good wall to keep out *Tartars*; you tell me, by that, it is good for nothing but to keep out *Tartars*; or, will keep out none but *Tartars*. I understand you, Seignior *Inglese*, I understand you, says he; but Seignior *Chinese* understood you his own way.

Well, says I, Seignior, do you think it would stand out an army of our country people, with a good train of artillery; or our engineers, with two companies of miners? Would not they batter it down in ten days, that an army might enter in battalia, or blow it up in the air, foundation and all, that there should be no sign of it left? Ay, ay, says he, I know that. The *Chinese* wanted mightily to know what I said, and I gave him leave to tell him a few days' after, for we was then almost out of their country, and he was to leave us in a little time afterward; but when he knew what I had said, he was dumb all the rest of the way, and we heard no more of his fine story of the *Chinese* power and greatness while he staid.

After we had passed this mighty *nothing*, called a wall, something like the *Picts* wall, and so famous in *Northumberland*, and built by the *Romans*, we began to find the country thinly inhabited, and the people rather confined to live in fortified towns and cities, as being subject to the inroads and depredations of the *Tartars*, who rob in great armies, and therefore are not to be resisted by the naked inhabitants of an open country.

And here I began to find the necessity of keeping together in a caravan, as we travelled; for we saw several troops of *Tartars* moving about; but when I came to see them distinctly, I wondered more that the *Chinese* empire could be conquered by such contemptible fellows; for they are a mere horde or crowd of wild fellows, keeping no order, and understanding no discipline, or manner of fight.

... they will not run a gun  
when you begin the chace ; i  
forty in a flock, and, like true  
they fly.

In pursuit of this odd sort  
with about forty *Tartars*. W  
as we were, or whether they  
I know not ; but as soon as  
kind of a horn very loud, but  
never heard before ; and, by th  
We all supposed this was to ci  
so it was : for in less than half  
forty or fifty more appeared at  
work was over first, as it happe

One of the *Scots* merchants of  
us ; and as soon as he heard the  
we had nothing to do but to ch  
loss of time ; and, drawing us i  
resolved > ~~xxx~~ . . .

Immediately we halted ; and though it was at a great distance, we fired, and sent them leaden bullets for wooden arrows, following our shot full gallop, to fall in among them sword in hand ; for so our bold *Scots* that led us directed. He was, indeed, but a merchant, but he behaved with that vigour and bravery on this occasion, and yet with such a cool courage too, that I never saw any man in action fitter for command. As soon as we came up to them, we fired our pistols in their faces, and then drew ; but they fled in the greatest confusion imaginable ; the only stand any of them made was on our right, where three of them stood, and, by signs, called the rest to come back to them, having a kind of scymitar in their hands, and their bows hanging at their backs. Our brave commander, without asking any body to follow him, gallops up close to them, and with his fusil knocks one of them off his horse, killed the second with his pistol, and the third ran away ; and thus ended our fight ; but we had this misfortune attending it, *viz.* That *all our mutton* that we had in chace got away. We had not a man killed or hurt ; but, as for the *Tartars*, there was about five of them killed ; who were wounded, we knew not ; but this we knew, that the other party was so frighted with the noise of our guns, that they made off, and never made any attempt upon us.

We were all this while in the *Chinese* dominions, and therefore the *Tartars* were not so bold as afterwards ; but in about five days we entered a vast great wild desert, which held us three days' and nights' march ; and we were obliged to carry our water with us in great leather bottles, and to encamp all night, just as I have heard they do in the desert of *Arabia*.

I asked whose dominion this was ? and they told me this was a kind of border that might be called *No Man's Land* ; being a part of the Great *Karakathy*, or *Grand Tartary* ; but that, however, it was all reckoned to *China* ; but that there was no care taken here to preserve it from the inroads of thieves.

Once, however, a party of  
gaze at us; whether it was  
whether attack us, or not att  
when we were passed at some  
guard of forty men, and stood r  
pass half a mile, or thereabout  
they marched off, only we foun  
at their parting; one of which  
abled him; and we left him the  
need of a good farrier. We s  
arrows, which might fall short of  
or *Tartars*, that time.

We travelled near a month a  
good as at first, though still in t  
China; but lay, for the most p  
were fortified, because of the inc  
we came to one of these towns (i  
journey before -

I walked it on foot, with my old pilot, being very desirous, forsooth, of a little variety. When we came to the place, it was a low marshy ground, walled round with a stone wall, piled up dry, without mortar or earth among it, like a park, with a little guard of *Chinese* soldiers at the door. Having bought a camel, and agreed for the price, I came away; and the *Chinese* man that went with me led the camel, when on a sudden came up five *Tartars* on horseback; two of them seized the fellow, and took the camel from him, while other three stepped up to me and my old pilot; seeing us, as it were, unarmed, for I had no weapon about me but my sword, which could but ill defend me against three horsemen. The first that came up stopped short upon my drawing my sword (for they are arrant cowards); but a second coming upon my left, gave me a blow on the head, which I never felt till afterwards, and wondered, when I came to myself, what was the matter with me, and where I was, for he laid me flat on the ground; but my never-failing old pilot, the *Portuguese* (so providence, unlooked for, directs deliverances from dangers which to us are unforeseen,) had a pistol in his pocket, which I knew nothing of, nor the *Tartars* neither; if they had, I suppose they would not have attacked us; but cowards are always boldest when there is no danger.

The old man, seeing me down, with a bold heart stepped up to the fellow that had struck me, and laying hold of his arm with one hand, and pulling him down by main force a little towards him with the other, he shot him into the head, and laid him dead upon the spot; he then immediately stepped up to him who had stopped us, as I said, and before he could come forward again (for it was all done as it were in a moment) made a blow to him with a scymitar, which he always wore, but missing the man, cut his horse into the side of his head, cut one of his ears off by the root, and a great slice down the side of his face. The poor beast, enraged with the wound, was no more to be

ing upon an ugly ill-favour  
thing like a pole-axe, but n  
from him, and made shift  
with it. But my old man  
still ; and, seeing he did not  
fight him, as he apprehended  
stood still too, and falls to v  
pistol again : but as soon as  
he supposed it to be the same  
he scoured, and left my pilot,  
ward, a complete victory.

By this time I was a little a  
began to awake, that I had bee  
above, I wondered where I was  
and what was the matter : in  
sense returned, I felt pain, th  
clapped my hand to my head,  
felt my head ache ; and then  
...

had been killed ; and seeing me bloody, would see how I was hurt ; but it was not much, only what we call a broken head ; neither did I afterwards find any great inconvenience from the blow, other than the place which was hurt, and which was well again in two or three days.

We made no great gain, however, by this victory ; for we lost a camel, and gained a horse : but that which was remarkable, when we came back to the village, the man demanded to be paid for the camel ; I disputed it, and it was brought to a hearing before the *Chinese* judge of the place ; that is to say, in *English*, we went before a justice of the peace. Give him his due, he dictated with a great deal of prudence and impartiality ; and having heard both sides, he gravely asked the *Chinese* man that went with me to buy the camel, whose servant he was ? I am no servant, says he, but went with the stranger. At whose request ? says the justice. At the stranger's request, says he. Why then, said the justice, you were the stranger's servant for the time ; and the camel being delivered to his servant, it was delivered to him, and he must pay for it.

I confess the thing was so clear, that I had not a word to say ; but admiring to see such just reasoning upon the consequence, and so accurate stating the cause, I paid willingly for the camel, and sent for another ; but you may observe, I sent for it ; I did not go to fetch it myself any more ; I had enough of that.

The city of *Naum* is a frontier of the *Chinese* empire : they call it fortified, and so it is, as fortifications go there ; for this I will venture to affirm, that all the *Tartars* in *Karakathay*, which, I believe, are some millions, could not batter down the walls with their bows and arrows ; but to call it strong, if it were attacked with cannon, would be to make those who understand it laugh at you.

We wanted, as I have said, above two days' journey of this city, when messengers were sent express to every part of the

..... sent us from a garrison  
three hundred more from the  
advanced boldly : the three hundred  
in our front, the two hundred on  
side of our camels with our baggage  
the centre : in this order, and we  
ourselves a match for the whole  
they had appeared ; but the next  
was quite another thing.

It was early in the morning, &  
situated town, called *Changu*, w  
were obliged to ferry ; and had it  
then had been the time to have  
being over, the rear-guard was be

About three hours after, when  
of about fifteen or sixteen miles c  
they raised, we saw an enemy w  
hand indeed, for they came on us

The *Changu*...

of our men advance, and flank them on each wing, and encourage them, and they will fight like brave fellows in brave company ; but without, they will every man turn his back. Immediately I rode up to our leader, and told him, who was exactly of our mind ; and accordingly fifty of us marched to the right wing, and fifty to the left, and the rest made a line of rescue, and so we marched, leaving the last two hundred men to make another body by themselves, and to guard the camels ; only that, if need were, they should send a hundred men to assist the last fifty.

In a word, the *Tartars* came on, and an innumerable company they were ; how many, we could not tell, but ten thousand we thought was the least. A party of them came on first, and viewed our posture, traversing the ground in the front of our line ; and as we found them within gun shot, our leader ordered the two wings to advance swiftly, and give them a salvo on each wing with their shot, which was done ; but they went off, and I suppose back to give an account of the reception they were like to meet with ; and, indeed, that salute clogged their stomachs ; for they immediately halted, stood awhile to consider of it, and, wheeling off to the left, they gave over the design, and said no more to us for that time ; which was very agreeable to our circumstances, which were but very indifferent for a battle with such a number.

Two days after this we came to the city of *Nauv*, or *Nauv* : We thanked the governor for his care for us, and collected to the value of 100 crowns, or thereabouts, which we gave to the soldiers sent to guard us ; and here we rested one day. This is a garrison indeed, and there were nine hundred soldiers kept here : but the reason of it was, that formerly the *Muscovites* frontiers lay nearer to them than they do now, the *Muscovites* having abandoned that part of the country (which lies from this city west, for about two hundred miles) as desolate and unfit for use :

might be called, that belongs  
called *Argun*, being on the wes

I could not but discover an  
soon arrived in, as I called it, :  
in a country governed by Christ  
do, *in my opinion*, but just des  
such they pretend to be, and are  
would certainly occur to any n  
have done, and who had any poi  
occur to him, to reflect, what a  
the world where the name of God  
worshipped, and adored—and n  
by Heaven to strong delusions,  
themselves to stocks and stones  
horrible shaped animals, and st  
Not a town or city we passed i  
their idols, and their temples ; a  
even the works of their own han

Now we came where, at least,  
appeared. *where the book* - - -

be God, we are once again come among Christians ! He smile~~d~~, and answered, Do not rejoice too soon, countryman ; these ~~Muscovites~~ are but an odd sort of Christians ; and but for the name of it, you may see very little of the substance for some months farther of our journey.

Well, says I, but still it is better than paganism and worshipping of devils. Why, I'll tell you, says he ; except the *Russian* soldiers in garrisons, and a few of the inhabitants of the cities upon the road, all the rest of this country, for above a thousand miles farther, is inhabited by the worst and most ignorant of pagans : and so indeed we found it.

We were now launched into the greatest piece of solid earth, if I understand any thing of the surface of the globe, that is to be found in any part of the earth : we had at least twelve hundred miles to the sea, eastward ; we had at least two thousand to the bottom of the Baltic sea, westward ; and above three thousand miles, if we left that sea, and went on west, to the *British* and *French* channels ; we had full five thousand miles to the *Indian* or *Persian* sea, south ; and about eight hundred miles to the frozen sea, north : nay, if some people may be believed, there might be no sea north-east till we came round the pole, and consequently into the north-west, and so had a continent of land into *America*, the Lord knows where ; though I could give some reasons why I believe that to be a mistake.

As we entered into the *Muscovite* dominions, a good while before we came to any considerable towns, we had nothing to observe there but this : first, that all the rivers run to the east ; as I understood by the charts which some in our caravan had with them, it was plain all those rivers run into the great river *Yamsour*, or *Gammour*. This river, by the natural course of it, must run into the east sea, or *Chinese* ocean. The story they tell us, that the mouth of this river is choked up with bulrushes of a monstrous growth, *viz.* three foot about, and twenty or

... rivers along with it  
itself in that latitude; so we are

Some leagues to the north of considerable rivers, whose streams runs east; and these are all found great river *Tartarus*, named so from the *Mongul Tartars*, who, the Chinese in the world; and who, as our geographers and *Magog* mentioned in sacred scripture

These rivers running all northward rivers I am yet to speak of, make the ocean bounds the land also on the north seem rational in the least to think of to join with *America* on that side. Communication between the northern and southern hemispheres I shall say no more; it was my intention therefore I take notice of it in this paper from the river *Arguna* by easy and very visible oblique lines.

were *Russians* and professed Christians, yet the inhabitants of the country were mere *pagans*, sacrificing to idols, and worshipping the sun, moon, and stars, or all the host of heaven; and not only so, but were, of all the *heathens* and *pagans* that ever I met with, the most barbarous, except only that they did not eat man's flesh, as our savages of *America* did.

Some instances of this we met with in the country between *Arguna*, where we enter the *Muscovite* dominions, and a city of *Tartars* and *Russians* together, called *Nertzinskay*; in which is a continued desert or forest, which cost us twenty days to travel over it. In a village, near the last of those places, I had the curiosity to go and see their way of living; which is most brutish and insufferable: they had, I suppose, a great sacrifice that day: for there stood out upon an old stump of a tree, an idol made of wood, frightful as the devil; at least as any thing we can think of to represent the devil can be made. It had a head certainly not so much as resembling any creature that the world ever saw; ears as big as goats' horns, and as high; eyes as big as a crown piece; a nose like a crooked ram's horn, and a mouth extended four-cornered, like that of a lion, with horrible teeth, hooked like a parrot's under bill. It was dressed up in the filthiest manner that you could suppose; its upper garment was of sheep-skins, with the wool outward; a great *Tartar* bonnet on the head, with two horns growing through it: it was about eight foot high, yet had no feet or legs, or any other proportion of parts.

This scarecrow was set up at the outer side of the village; and when I came near to it, there were sixteen or seventeen creatures, whether men or women I could not tell, for they make no distinction by their habits, either of body or head; these lay all flat on the ground, round this formidable block of shapeless wood. I saw no motion among them any more than if they had been all logs of wood like the idol; and at first really

otherwise they would burn us all with fire. Our men looked very blank at this message, and began to stare at one another, to see who looked with most guilt in their faces, but, *nobody* was the word, nobody did it. The leader of the caravan sent word, he was well assured it was not done by any of our camp; that we were peaceable merchants, travelling on our business; that we had done no harm to them, or to any one else; and that therefore they must look farther for their enemies, who had injured them, for we were not the people; so desired them not to disturb us; for if they did, we should defend ourselves.

They were far from being satisfied with this for an answer, but a great crowd of them came down in the morning, by break of day, to our camp; but, seeing us in such an unaccountable situation, they durst come no farther than the brook in our front, where they stood, and shewed us such a number, that indeed terrified us very much; for those that spoke least of them, spoke of ten thousand. Here they stood, and looked at us a while, and then setting up a great howl, they let fly a cloud of arrows among us; but we were well enough fortified for that, for we sheltered under our baggage; and I do not remember that one man of us was hurt.

Some time after this, we see them move a little to our right, and expected them on the rear, when a cunning fellow, a *Cossack*, as they call them, of *Jarawena*, in the pay of the *Muscovites*, calling to the leader of the caravan, said to him, I will go send all these people away to *Sibeilka*. This was a city four or five days' journey, at least, to the south, and rather behind us. So he takes his bow and arrows, and, getting on horseback, he rides away from our rear directly, as it were, back to *Nertzinskay*; after this he takes a great circuit about, and comes to the army of the *Tartars*, as if he had been sent express to tell them a long story, that the people who had burnt their *Chen-Chi-Thaungu* were gone to *Sibeilka*, with a caravan of miscreants,

monster, call it what you will, and with my sword cut *the bonnet* that was on its head in two in the middle, so that it *hung down* by one of the horns ; and one of our men that was with me, took hold of the sheep-skin that covered it, and pulled at it, when, behold, a most hideous outcry and howling run through the village, and two or three hundred people came about my ears, so that I was glad to scour for it ; for we saw some had bows and arrows ; but I resolved from that moment to visit them again.

Our caravan rested three nights at the town, which was about four miles off, in order to provide some horses, which they wanted, several of the horses having been lamed and jaded with the badness of the way, and long march over the last desert ; so we had some leisure here to put my design in execution. I communicated my project to the *Scots* merchant of *Moscow*, of whose courage I had had sufficient testimony, as above. I told him what I had seen, and with what indignation I had since thought, that human nature could be so degenerate. I told him, I was resolved, if I could get but four or five men well armed to go with me, I was resolved to go and destroy that vile abominable idol ; and let them see that it had no power to help itself, and consequently could not be an object of worship, or to be prayed to, much less help them that offered sacrifices to it.

He laughed at me : *says he*, Your zeal may be good ; but what do you propose to yourself by it ? Propose ! *said I* ; to vindicate the honour of God, which is insulted by this devil-worship. But how will it vindicate the honour of God ? *said he*, while the people will not be able to know what you mean by it, unless you could speak to them, and tell them so ; and then they will fight you and beat you too, I will assure you ; for they are desperate fellows, and that especially in defence of their idolatry. Can we not, *said I*, do it in the night, and then leave them the reasons and causes, in writing, in their own language ?

Writing! said he, why there is not a man in five nations of them, that know any thing of a letter, or how to read a word in any language, or in their own. Wretched ignorance! said I to him; however, I have a great mind to do it; perhaps nature may draw inferences from it to them, to let them see how brutish they are to worship such horrid things. Look you, Sir, said he, if your zeal prompts you to it so warmly, you must do it; but in the next place, I would have you consider these wild nations of people are subjected by force to the *Czar of Muscovy's* dominions; and if you do this, it is ten to one but they will come by thousands to the governor of *Nertzinskay*, and complain, and demand satisfaction, and if he cannot give them satisfaction, it is ten to one but they revolt; and it will occasion a new war with all the *Tartars* in the country.

This, I confess, put new thoughts into my head for a while; but I harped upon the same string still; and all that day I was uneasy to put my project in execution. Towards the evening, the *Scots* merchant met me by accident in our walk about the town, and desired to speak with me. I believe, said he, I have put you off of your good design; I have been a little concerned about it since; for I abhor the idol and the idolatry as much as you can do. Truly, said I, you have put it off a little as to the execution of it, but you have not put it at all out of my thoughts; and, I believe, I shall do it still before I quit this place, though I were to be delivered up to them for satisfaction. No, no, says he; God forbid they should deliver you up to such a crew of monsters; they shall not do that neither; that would be murdering you indeed. Why, says I, how would they use me? Use you! says he; I will tell you how they served a poor *Russian*, who affronted them in their worship just as you did, and who they took prisoner, after they had lamed him with an arrow, that he could not run away; they took him and stripped him stark naked, and set him upon the top of the idol mon-

ster, and stood all round him, and shot as many arrows into him as would stick over his whole body ; and then they burnt him and all the arrows sticking in him, as a sacrifice to the idol. And was this the same idol ? Yes, says he, the very same. Well, says I, I will tell you a story. So I related the story of our men at *Madagascar*, and how they burnt and sacked the village there, and killed man, woman, and child, for their murdering one of our men, just as is related before ; and when I had done, I added, that I thought we ought to do so to this village.

He listened very attentively to the story ; but when I talked of doing so to that village, says he, you mistake very much ; it was not this village, it was almost a hundred miles from this place ; but it was the same idol, for they carry him about in procession all over the country. Well then, says I, then that idol ought to be punished for it ; and so it shall, says I, if I live this night out.

In a word, finding me resolute, he liked the design, and told me, I should not go alone, but he would go with me ; and bring a stout fellow, one of his countrymen, to go also with us ; and one says he, as famous for his zeal as you can desire any one to be against such devilish things as these. In a word, he brought me his comrade, a *Scotsman*, who he called Captain *Richardson* ; and I gave him a full account of what I had seen, and, in a word, of what I intended ; and he told me readily, he would go with me if it cost him his life. So we agreed to go, only us three. I had, indeed, proposed it to my partner ; but he declined it. He said, he was ready to assist me to the utmost, and upon all occasions, for my defence ; but that this was an adventure quite out of his way : so, I say, we resolved upon our work, only us three, and my man-servant, and to put it in execution that night about midnight, with all the secrecy imaginable.

However, upon second thoughts, we were willing to delay it

till the next night, because the caravan being to set forward in the morning, we supposed the governor could not pretend to give them any satisfaction upon us when we were out of his power.—The *Scots* merchant, as steady in his resolution for the enterprise, as bold in executing, brought me a *Tartar*'s robe or gown of the sheep-skins, and a bonnet, with a bow and arrows, and had provided the same for himself and his countrymen, that the people, if they saw us, should not be able to determine who we were.

All the first night we spent in mixing up some combustible matter with aqua-vitæ, gunpowder, and such other materials as we could get; and, having a good quantity of tar in a little pot, about an hour after night we set out upon our expedition.

We came to the place about eleven o'clock at night, and found that the people had not the least jealousy of danger attending their idol; the night was cloudy, yet the moon gave a light enough to see that the idol stood just in the same posture and place that it did before. The people seemed to be all a

will try to take them prisoners, tie their hands behind them, and make them stand still, and see their idol destroyed.

As it happened, we had twine or packthread enough about us, which was used to tie our fire-works together with; so we resolved to attack these people first, and with as little noise as we could. The first thing, we did, we knocked at the door, which issued just as we desired it, for one of their idol priests came to the door, we immediately seized upon him, stopped his mouth, and tied his hands behind him, and led him to the idol, where we gagged him that he might not make a noise; tied his feet also together, and left him on the ground.

Two of us then waited at the door, expecting that another would come out to see what the matter was; but we waited so long till the third man came back to us; and then, nobody coming out we knocked again gently, and immediately out came two more, and we served them just in the same manner, but was obliged to go all with them, and lay them down by the idol some distance from one another; when, going back, we found two more were come out to the door, and a third stood behind them within the door. We seized the two, and immediately tied them: when the third stepping back, and crying out, my sivots merchant went in after him, and taking out a composition we had made, that would only smoke and stink, he set fire to it, and threw it in among them: by that time the other *Scosman* and my man taking charge of the two men who were already bound, and tied together also by the arm, led them away to the idol, and left them there, to see if their idol would relieve them, making haste back to us.

When the fuzes we had thrown in had filled the hut with so much smoke that they were almost suffocated, we then threw in a small leather bag of another kind, which flamed like a candle, and, following it in, we found there was but four people left, who, it seems, were two men and two women, and, as we very

posed, had been about some of their diabolic sacrifices. They appeared, in short, frightened to death, at least so as to sit trembling and stupid, and not able to speak neither, for the smoke.

In a word, we took them, bound them as we had the other, and all without any noise. I should have said, we brought them out of the house, or hut, first; for, indeed, we were not able to bear the smoke any more than they were. When we had done this, we carried them altogether to the idol: when we came there, we fell to work with him; and first we daubed him all over, and his robes also, with tar, and such other stuff as we had, which was tallow mixed with brimstone; then we stopped his eyes, and ears, and mouth full of gunpowder; and then we wrapped up a great piece of wild-fire in his bonnet; and then sticking all the combustibles we had brought with us upon him, we looked about to see if we could find any thing else to help to burn him; when my man remembered, that by the tent, or hut, where the men were, there lay a heap of dry forage, whether straw or rushes I do not remember: away he and one of the *Scotsmen* run, and fetched their arms full of that. When we had done this, we took all our prisoners, and brought them, having untied their feet, and un gagged their mouths, and made them stand up, and set them just before their monstrous idol, and then set fire to the whole.

We stayed by it a quarter of an hour, or thereabouts, till the powder in the eyes, and mouth, and ears of the idol blew up, and, we could perceive, had split and deformed the shape; and, in a word, till we saw it burn into a mere block or log of wood: and then setting the dry forage to it, we found it would be quite consumed; when we began to think of going away; but the *Scotsman* said, No, we must not go; for these poor deluded wretches will all throw themselves into the fire, and burn themselves with the idol. So we resolved to stay till the forage was burnt down too, and then we came away and left them.

In the morning we appeared among our fellow travellers, exceeding busy in getting ready for our journey ; nor could any man suggest that we had been any where but in our beds, as travellers might be supposed to be, to fit themselves for the fatigues of that day's journey.

But it did not end so ; the next day came a great multitude of the country people, not only of this village, but of a hundred more, for aught I know, to the town gates ; and, in a most outrageous manner, demanded satisfaction of the *Russian* governor, for the insulting their priests, and burning their great *Cham-Chi-Thaungu* ; such a hard name they gave the monstrous creature they worshipped : the people of *Nertzinskay* were at first in a great consternation ; for they said, the *Tartars* were no less than thirty thousand, and that in a few days more, would be one hundred thousand stronger.

The *Russian* governor sent out messengers to appease them, and gave them all the good words imaginable. He assured them he knew nothing of it, and that there had not a soul of his garrison been abroad ; that it could not be from any body there ; and if they would let him know who it was, they should be exemplarily punished. They returned haughtily : That all the country reverenced the great *Cham-Chi-Thaungu*, who dwelt in the sun, and no mortal would have decreed to offer violence to his image, but some Christian miscreant ; so they called them, it seems ; and they therefore denounced war against him, and all the *Russians* ; who, they said, were miscreants and Christians.

The governor, still patient, and unwilling to make a breach, or to have any cause of war alleged to be given by him, the Czar having straightly charged them to treat the conquered country with gentleness and civility, gave them still all the good words he could ; at last he told them, there was a *caravan* gone towards *Russia* that morning, and perhaps it was some of them

who had done them this injury ; and that, if they would be satisfied with that, he would send after them, to inquire into it. This seemed to appease them a little ; and accordingly the governor sent after us, and gave us a particular account how the thing was ; intimating withal, that if any in our caravan had done it, they should make their escape ; but that, whether they had done it or no, we should make all the haste forward that was possible ; and that in the mean time, he would keep them in play as long as he could.

This was very friendly in the governor. However, when it came to the caravan, there was nobody knew any thing of the matter ; and, as for us that were guilty, we were the least of all suspected ; none so much as asked us the question ; however, the captain of the caravan, for the time, took the hint that the governor gave us, and we marched or travelled two days and two nights without any considerable stop, and then we lay at a village called *Plotus* ; nor did make any long stop here, but hastened on towards *Farawena*, another of the Czar of *Mucor*'s

OF ROBINSON CRUSOE.

is a very great river when it passes farther north ; but where we came to it, we found it narrow and fordable.

The third day they either found their mistake, or had intelligence of us, and came pouring in upon us, towards the dusk of the evening. We had, to our great satisfaction, just pitched upon a place for our camp, which was very convenient for the night ; for as we were upon a desert, though but at the beginning of it, that was above five hundred miles over, we had no towns to lodge at, and, indeed, expected none but the city *Farawena*, which we had yet two days' march to ; the desert, however, had some few woods in it on this side, and little rivers, which ran all into the great river *Udda*. It was in a narrow strait between two little, but very thick woods, that we pitched our little camp for that night, expecting to be attacked in the night.

Nobody knew but ourselves what we were pursued for ; but as it was usual for the *Mongul Tartars* to go about in troops in that desert, so the caravans always fortify themselves every night against them, as against armies of robbers ; and it was therefore no new thing to be pursued.

But we had this night, of all the nights of our travels, a most advantageous camp ; for we lay between two woods, with a little rivulet running just before our front ; so that we could not be surrounded or attacked any way, but in our front or rear : we took care also to make our front as strong as we could, by placing our packs with our camels and horses, all in a line on the inside of the river, and felling some trees in our rear.

In this posture we encamped for the night ; but the enemy was upon us before we had finished our situation : they did not come on us like thieves, as we expected, but sent three messengers to us, to demand the men to be delivered to them, that had abused their priests, and burnt their god *Cham-Chi-Thaungu* with fire, that they might burn them with fire ; and, upon this, they said they would go away, and do us no farther harm,

otherwise they would burn us all with fire. Our men looked very blank at this message, and began to stare at one another, to see who looked with most guilt in their faces, but, *nobody* was the word, nobody did it. The leader of the caravan sent word, he was well assured it was not done by any of our camp; that we were peaceable merchants, travelling on our business; that we had done no harm to them, or to any one else; and that therefore they must look farther for their enemies, who had injured them, for we were not the people; so desired them not to disturb us; for if they did, we should defend ourselves.

They were far from being satisfied with this for an answer, but a great crowd of them came down in the morning, by break of day, to our camp; but, seeing us in such an unaccountable situation, they durst come no farther than the brook in our front, where they stood, and shewed us such a number, that indeed terrified us very much; for those that spoke least of them, spoke of ten thousand. Here they stood, and looked at us a while, and then setting up a great howl, they let fly a cloud of arrows

as he called them ; that is to say, Christians ; and that they had resolved to burn the god *Scal Isary*, belonging to the Tongueses.

As this fellow was himself a mere *Tartar*, and perfectly spoke their language, he counterfeited so well, that they all took it from him, and away they drove, in a most violent hurry, to *Sibeika*, which, it seems, was five days' journey to the north ; and in less than three hours they were entirely out of our sight, and we never heard any more of them, and we never knew whether they went to that other place called *Sibeika*, or no.

So we passed safely on to the city of *Jarawena*, where there was a garrison of *Muscovites* ; and there we rested five days, the caravan being exceedingly fatigued with the last day's hard march, and with want of rest in the night.

From this city we had a frightful desert, which held us three-and-twenty days' march. We furnished ourselves with some tents here, for the better accommodating ourselves in the night : and the leader of the caravan procured sixteen carriages, or waggons, of the country, for carrying our water and provisions ; and these carriages were our defence every night round our little camp ; so that had the *Tartars* appeared, unless they had been very numerous indeed, they would not have been able to hurt us.

We may well be supposed to want rest again after this long journey ; for in this desert we saw neither house or tree, or scarce a bush ; we saw abundance of the sable-hunters, as they called them. These are all *Tartars* of the *Mongul Tartary*, of which this country is a part ; and they frequently attack small caravans ; but we saw no numbers of them together. I was curious to see the sable-skins they catched ; but could never speak with any of them ; for they durst not come near us ; neither durst we straggle from our company to go near them.

After we had passed this desert, we came into a country where

well inhabited; that is to say, we found towns and castles settled by the Czar of *Muscovy*, with garrisons of stationary soldiers to protect the caravans, and defend the country against the *Tartars*, who would otherwise make it very dangerous travelling, and his czarish majesty has given such strict orders for the well guarding the caravans and merchants, that if there are any *Tartars* heard of in the country, detachments of the garrisons are always sent to see the travellers safe from station to station.

And thus the governor of *Adinskoy*, who I had opportunity to make a visit to, by means of the *Scots* merchants, who was acquainted with him, offered us a guard of fifty men, if we thought there was any danger, to the next station.

I thought long before this, that as we came nearer to *Europe*, we should find the country better peopled, and the people more civilized; but I found myself mistaken in both, for we had yet the nation of the *Tongues* to pass through; where we saw the same tokens of paganism and barbarity, or worse, than before.

I am no more to describe people than countries, ~~any~~, any farther my own story comes to be concerned in the ~~rest~~. I met nothing peculiar to myself in all this country, which, I was, from the desert which I spoke of last, at least four days' severe travelling, without house, or tree, or bush; we obliged again to carry our own provisions, as well watered. After we were out of this desert, and had travelled two we came to Janezay, a Muscovite city or station, on the river Janezay. This river, they told us, parted Europe and Asia, though our map-makers, as I am told, do not agree however, it is certainly the eastern boundary of the ancient empire, which now makes up a province only of the vast Muscovy.

Yet here I observed ignorance and paganism still prevailed, in the Muscovite garrisons. All the country between the Oby, and the river Janezay is as entirely pagan, and the as barbarous as the remotest of the Tartars; nay, as any for ought I know, in Asia or America. I also found, I observed to the Muscovite governors, who I had opportunity to converse with, that the poor pagans are not much the or the nearer Christianity, for being under the Muscovite government; which they acknowledged was true enough, but, I said, was none of their business; that if the Czar expected to convert his Siberian, or Tonguese, or Tartar subjects, it be done by sending clergymen among them, not soldiers; they added, with more sincerity than I expected, that they it was not so much the concern of their monarch to make people Christians, as it was to make them subjects.

In this river to the great river Oby, we crossed a wild unpeopled country; I cannot say it is a barren soil; it is only of people, and good management; otherwise it is in itself

a most pleasant, fruitful, and agreeable country. What inhabitants we found in it are all pagans, except such as are ~~are~~ among them from *Russia*; for this is the country, I mean on both sides the river *Oby*, whither the *Muscovite* criminals, ~~are~~ are not put to death, are banished, and from whence it is ~~is~~ to impossible they should ever come away.

I have nothing material to say of my particular affairs, till I came to *Tabolski*, the capital city of *Siberia*, where I continued some time on the following occasion:

We had been now almost seven months on our journey, and winter began to come on apace; whereupon my partner and I called a council about our particular affairs, in which we found it proper, considering that we were bound for *England*, and not for *Moscow*, to consider how to dispose of ourselves. They took us of sledges and reindeer to carry us over the snow in the winter-time; and, indeed, they have such things, that it would be incredible to relate the particulars of, by which means the *Russians* travel more in the winter than they can in summer: be-

been preposterous ; for as to *Dantzic*, the *Baltic* would be frozen up, and I could not get passage ; and to go by land in those countries was far less safe than among the *Mongul Tartars* ; likewise to go to *Arch-Angel*, in *October* all the ships would be gone from thence ; and even the merchants, who dwell there in summer, retire south to *Moscow* in the winter, when the ships are gone ; so that I should have nothing but extremity of cold to encounter, with a scarcity of provisions, and must lie there in an empty town all the winter : so that, upon the whole, I thought it much my better way to let the caravan go, and to make provision to winter where I was, viz. at *Tobolski*, in *Siberia*, in the latitude of sixty degrees, where I was sure of three things to wear out a cold winter with, viz. plenty of provisions, such as the country afforded, a warm house, with fuel enough, and excellent company ; of all which I shall give a full account in its place.

I was now in a quite different climate from my beloved island, where I never felt cold, except when I had my ague ; on the contrary, I had much to do to bear any clothes on my back, and never made any fire but without doors, and for my necessity, in dressing my food, &c. Now I made me three good vests, with large robes or gowns over them, to hang down to the feet, and button close to the wrists, and all these lined with furs, to make them sufficiently warm.

As to a warm house, I must confess, I greatly disliked our way in *England*, of making fires in every room in the house, in open chimnies, which, when the fire was out, always kept the air in the room cold as the climate. But taking an apartment in a good house in the town, I ordered a chimney to be built like a furnace, in the centre of six several rooms, like a stove : the funnel to carry the smoke went up one way, the door to come at the fire went in another, and all the rooms were kept equally warm, but no fire seen ; just as they heat the bagnios in *England*.

By this means we had always the same climate in all the rooms, and an equal heat was preserved; and how cold soever it was without, it was always warm within; and yet we saw no fire, nor was ever incommoded with any smoke.

The most wonderful thing of all was, that it should be possible to meet with good company here, in a country so barbarous as that of the most northerly parts of *Europe*, near the frozen ocean, and within but a very few degrees of *Nova Zembla*.

But this being the country where the state criminals of *Muscovy*, as I observed before, are all banished, this city was full of noblemen, princes, gentlemen, colonels, and, in short, all degrees of the nobility, gentry, soldiery, and courtiers of *Muscovy*. Here was the famous Prince *Galiczen*; the old general *Robostisky*, and several other persons of note, and some ladies.

By means of my *Scots* merchant, who nevertheless, I parted with here, I made an acquaintance here with several of these gentlemen, and some of them of the first rank; and from these, in the long winter nights, in which I staid here, I received several

hat, and said, There, indeed, I outdid the Czar of Muscovy. *I add him*, that all the lands in my kingdom were my own, and *all* my subjects were not only my tenants, but tenants at will; that they would all fight for me to the last drop; and that never *grant*, for such *I acknowledged myself to be*, was ever so universally beloved, and yet so horribly feared by his subjects.

After amusing them with these riddles in government for a while, I opened the case, and told them the story at large of my living in the island, and how I managed both myself and the people there that were under me, just as I have since minuted it down. They were exceedingly taken with the story, and especially the prince, who told me with a sigh, that the true greatness of life was to be master of ourselves; that he would not have exchanged such a state of life as mine to have been Czar of Muscovy; and that he found more felicity in the retirement he seemed to be banished to there, than ever he found in the highest authority he enjoyed in the court of his master the Czar: that the height of human wisdom was to bring our tempers down to our circumstances, and to make a calm within, under the weight of the greatest scorns without. When he came first hither, he said, he used to tear the hair from his head, and the clothes from his back, as others had done before him; but a little time and consideration had made him look into himself, as well as round him, to things without; that he found the mind of man, if it was but once brought to reflect upon the state of universal life, and how little this world was concerned in its true felicity, was perfectly capable of making a felicity for itself, fully satisfying to itself, and suitable to its own best ends and desires, with but very little assistance from the world; that air to breathe in, food to sustain life, clothes for warmth, and liberty for exercise, in order to health, completed, in his opinion, all that the world could do for us, and though the greatness, the authority, the riches, and the pleasures, which some enjoyed in the world, and

which he had enjoyed his share of, had much in them that was agreeable to us, yet he observed, that all those things chiefly gratified the coarsest of our affections; such as our ambition, our particular pride, our avarice, our vanity, and our sensuality: all which were, indeed, the mere product of the worst part of man, were in themselves crimes, and had in them the seeds of all manner of crime; but neither were related to or concerned with any of those virtues that constituted us wise men, or of those graces which distinguished us as Christians: that being now deprived of all the fancied felicity, which he enjoyed in the full exercise of all those vices, he said, he was at leisure to look upon the dark side of them, where he found all manner of deformity; and was now convinced, that virtue only makes a man truly wise, rich, and great, and preserves him in the way to a superior happiness in a future state; and in this, he said, they were more happy in their banishment, than all their enemies were, who had the full possession of all the wealth and power that they (the banished) had left behind them.

old station, of which I had given him an account, but that I thought he was not a monarch only, but a great conqueror; for that he that has got a victory over his own exorbitant desires, and has the absolute dominion over himself, whose reason entirely governs his will, is certainly greater than he that conquers a city. But, my lord, *said I*, shall I take the liberty to ask you a question? With all my heart, says he. If the door of your liberty was opened, *said I*, would you not take hold of it to deliver yourself from this exile?

Hold, said he, your question is subtle, and requires some serious just distinctions to give it a sincere answer; and I will give it you from the bottom of my heart. Nothing that I know of in this world would move me to deliver myself from this state of banishment, except these two. First, the enjoyment of my relations; and, secondly, a little warmer climate; but I protest to you, that to go back to the pomp of the court, the glory, the power, the hurry of a minister of state; the wealth, the gaiety, and the pleasures, that is to say, follies of a courtier; if my master should send me word this moment, that he restores me to all he banished me from; I protest, if I know myself at all, I would not leave this wilderness, these deserts, and these frozen lakes, for the palace of *Moscow*.

But, my lord, *said I*, perhaps you not only are banished from the pleasures of the court, and from the power, and authority, and wealth, you enjoyed before, but you may be absent too from some of the conveniences of life; your estate, perhaps, confiscated, and your effects plundered; and the supplies left you here may not be suitable to the ordinary demands of life.

Ay, said he, that is as you suppose me to be, a lord, or a prince, Sir. So, indeed, I am; but you are now to consider me only as a man, a human creature, not at all distinguished from another; and so I can suffer no want, unless I should be visited with sickness and distempers. However, to put the question

ut of dispute ; you see our manner ; we are in this place five persons of rank ; we live perfectly retired, as suited to a state of banishment ; we have something rescued from the shipwreck of our fortunes, which keeps us from the mere necessity of hunting for our food ; but the poor soldiers who are here, without that help, live in as much plenty as we ; who go into the woods, and catch sables and foxes ; the labour of a month will maintain them a year ; and as the way of living is not expensive, so it is not hard to get sufficient to ourselves. So that objection is out of doors.

I have not room to give a full account of the most agreeable conversation I had with this truly great man ; in all which he shewed that his mind was so inspired with a superior knowledge of things, so supported by religion, as well as by a vast share of wisdom, that his contempt of the world was really as much as he had expressed, and that he was always the same to the last, as will appear in the story I am going to tell.

I had been here eight months, and a dark dreadful winter !

sorts, and some flesh of mutton, and of the buffaloes, which is pretty good beef. All the stores of provisions for the winter are laid up in the summer, and well cured ; our drink was water mixed with aqua vitæ instead of brandy ; and, for a treat, mead instead of wine, which, however, they have excellent good. The hunters, who venture abroad all weathers, frequently brought us in fresh venison, very fat and good ; and sometimes bear's flesh, but we did not much care for the last. We had a good stock of tea, with which we treated our friends as above ; and, in a word, we lived very cheerfully and well, all things considered.

It was now *March*, and the days grown considerably longer, and the weather at least tolerable ; so the other travellers began to prepare sledges to carry them over the snow, and to get things ready to be going ; but my measures being fixed, as I have said, for *Arch-Angel*, and not for *Muscovy*, or the *Baltic*, I made no motion, knowing very well, that the ships from the south do not set out for that part of the world till *May* or *June* ; and that if I was there by the beginning of *August*, it would be as soon as any ships would be ready to go away ; and therefore, I say, I made no haste to be gone, as others did ; in a word, I saw a great many people, nay, all the travellers, go away before me. It seems, every year they go from thence to *Moscow* for trade ; *viz.* to carry furs, and buy necessaries with them, which they bring back to furnish their shops ; also others went of the same errand to *Arch-Angel* ; but then they also, being to come back again above eight hundred miles, went all out before me.

In short, about the latter end of *May*, I began to make all ready to pack up ; and as I was doing this, it occurred to me, that seeing all these people were banished by the Czar of *Muscovy* to *Siberia*, and yet, when they came there, were left at liberty to go whither they would ; why did they not then go away to any part of the world wherever they thought fit ? and I began to examine what should hinder them from making such an attempt.

But my wonder was over, when I entered upon that subject with the person I have mentioned, who answered me thus. Consider, first, sir, said he, the place where we are; and secondly, the condition we are in; especially, said he, the generality of the people who are banished hither. We are surrounded, said he, with stronger things than bars and bolts: on the north side an unnavigable ocean, where ship never sailed, and boat never swam; neither, if we had both, could we know where to go with them. Every other way, said he, we have above a thousand miles to pass through the Czar's own dominions, and by ways utterly unpassable, except by the roads made by the governor, and by the towns garrisoned by his troops; so that we could neither pass undiscovered by the road, or subsist any other way; so that it is in vain to attempt it.

I was silenced, indeed, at once, and found that they were in a prison every jot as secure as if they had been locked up in the castle at *Moscow*; however, it came into my thought, that I might certainly be made an instrument to procure the escape of this excellent person, and that whatever hazard I run, I would certainly try if I could carry him off. Upon this I took an occasion one evening to tell him my thoughts: I represented to him, that it was very easy for me to carry him away, there being no guard over him in the country; and as I was not going to *Moscow*, but to *Arch-Angel*, and that I went in the nature of a caravan, by which I was not obliged to lie in the stationary towns in the desert, but could encamp every night where I would, we might easily pass uninterrupted to *Arch-Angel*, where I would immediately secure him on board an *English* or *Dutch* ship, and carry him off safe along with me; and as to his subsistence, and other particulars, it should be my care, till he could better supply himself.

He heard me very attentively, and looked earnestly on me all the while I spoke; nay, I could see in his very face, that what I

said put his spirits into an exceeding ferment ; his colour frequently changed, his eyes looked red, and his heart fluttered, that it might be even perceived in his countenance ; nor could he immediately answer me when I had done, and, as it were, expected what he would say to it ; but after he had paused a little, he embraced me, and said, How unhappy are we ! unguarded creatures as we are, that even our greatest acts of friendship are made snares to us, and we made tempters of one another ! My dear friend, said he, your offer is so sincere, has such kindness in it, is so disinterested in itself, and is so calculated for my advantage, that I must have very little knowledge of the world if I did not both wonder at it, and acknowledge the obligation I have upon me to you for it. But did you believe I was sincere in what I have so often said to you of my contempt of the world ? Did you believe I spoke my very soul to you, and that I had really obtained that degree of felicity here, that had placed me above all that the world could give me, or do for me ? Did you believe I was sincere, when I told you I would not go back, if I was recalled even to be all that once I was in the court, and with the favour of the Czar my master ? Did you believe me, my friend, to be an honest man, or did you think me to be a boasting hypocrite ?—Here he stopped, as if he would hear what I would say ; but, indeed, I soon after perceived, that he stopped because his spirits were in motion ; his great heart was full of struggles, and he could not go on. I was, I confess, astonished at the thing, as well as at the man, and I used some arguments with him to urge him to set himself free ; that he ought to look upon this as a door opened by Heaven for his deliverance, and a summons by Providence, who has the care and disposition of all events, to do himself good, and to render himself useful in the world.

He had by this time recovered himself. How do you know, sir, says he, warmly, that, instead of a summons from Heaven,

it may not be a feint of another instrument, representing, in all the alluring colours, to me, the shew of felicity as a deliverance, which may in itself be my snare, and tends directly to my ruin? Here I am free from the temptation of returning to my former miserable greatness ; there I am not sure, but that all the seeds of pride, ambition, avarice, and luxury, which I know remain in nature, may revive and take root, and in a word, again overwhelm me ; and then the happy prisoner, who you see now master of his soul's liberty, shall be the miserable slave of his own senses, in the full of all personal liberty. Dear Sir, let me remain in this blessed confinement, banished from the crimes of life, rather than purchase a shew of freedom at the expense of the liberty of my reason, and at the expense of the future happiness which now I have in my view, but shall then, I fear, quickly lose sight of ; for I am but flesh, a man, a mere man, have passions and affections as likely to possess and overthrow me as any man. O be not my friend and my tempter both together !

If I was surprised before, I was quite dumb now, and stood silent, looking at him ; and, indeed, admired at what I saw ; the struggle in his soul was so great, that though the weather was extremely cold, it put him into a most violent sweat, and I found he wanted to give vent to his mind ; so I said a word or two, that I would leave him to consider of it, and wait on him again ; and then I withdrew to my own apartment.

About two hours after, I heard somebody at or near the door of my room, and I was going to open the door ; but he had opened it, and came in. My dear friend, says he, you had almost overset me, but I am recovered : do not take it ill that I do not close with your offer ; I assure you, it is not for want of a sense of the kindness of it in you ; and I came to make the most sincere acknowledgment of it to you ; but, I hope, I have got the victory over myself.

My lord, said I, I hope you are fully satisfied, that you do not resist the call of Heaven. Sir, said he, if it had been from Heaven, the same power would have influenced me to accept it; but I hope, and am fully satisfied, that it is from Heaven that I decline it; and I have infinite satisfaction in the parting, that you shall leave me an honest man still, though not a free man.

I had nothing to do but to acquiesce, and make professions to him of my having no end in it, but a sincere desire to serve him. He embraced me very passionately, and assured me, he was sensible of that, and should always acknowledge it; and with that he offered me a very fine present of sables, too much indeed for me to accept from a man in his circumstances; and I would have avoided them, but he would not be refused.

The next morning I sent my servant to his lordship, with a small present of tea, and two pieces of *China* damask, and four little wedges of *Japan* gold, which did not all weigh above six ounces, or thereabout; but were far short of the value of his sables, which, indeed, when I came to *England*, I found worth near 200*l.* He accepted the tea and one piece of the damask, and one of the pieces of gold, which had a fine stamp upon it, of the *Japan* coinage, which I found he took for the rarity of it, but would not take any more, and he sent word by my servant, that he desired to speak with me.

When I came to him, he told me, I knew what had passed between us, and hoped I would not move him any more in that affair; but that, since I had made such a generous offer to him, he asked me, if I had kindness enough to offer the same to another person that he would name to me, in whom he had a great share of concern. I told him, that I could not say, I inclined to do so much for any one but himself, for whom I had a particular value, and should have been glad to have been the instrument of his deliverance: however, if he would please to name the person to me, I would give him my answer, and begged

he would not be displeased with me, if he was with my answer. He told me, it was only his son, who, though I had not seen, yet was in the same condition with himself, and above two hundred miles from him, on the other side the *Oby*; but that, if I consented, he would send for him.

I made no hesitation, but told him I would do it. I made some ceremony in letting him understand that it was wholly on his account; and that seeing I could not prevail on him, I would shew my respect to him by my concern for his son: but these things are too tedious to repeat here. He sent away the next day for his son, and in about twenty days he came back with the messenger, bringing six or seven horses loaded with very rich furs, and which, in the whole, amounted to a very great value.

His servants brought the horses into the town, but left the young lord at a distance till night, when he came *incognito* into our apartment, and his father presented him to me; and, in short, we concerted there the manner of our travelling, and every thing proper for the journey.

I had bought a considerable quantity of sables, black fox-skins, fine ermines, and such other furs as are very rich; I say, I had bought them in that city in exchange for some of the goods I brought from *China*; in particular, for the cloves and nutmegs, of which I sold the greatest part here; and the rest afterwards at *Arch-Angel*, for a much better price than I could have done at *London*; and my partner, who was sensible of the profit, and whose business, more particularly than mine, was merchandize, was mightily pleased with our stay, on account of the traffic we made here.

It was the beginning of *June* when I left this remote place, a city, I believe, little heard of in the world; and, indeed, it is so far out of the road of commerce, that I know not how it should be much talked of. We were now come to a very small can-

ran, being only thirty-two horses and camels in all, and all of them passed for mine, though my new guest was proprietor of eleven of them. It was most natural also, that I should take more servants with me than I had before, and the young lord passed for my steward; what great man I passed for myself I know not, neither did it concern me to inquire. We had here the worst and the largest desert to pass over that we met with in all the journey; indeed I call it the worst, because the way was very deep in some places, and very uneven in others; the best we had to say for it, was, that we thought we had no troops of *Tartars* and robbers to fear, and that they never came on this side the river *Oby*, or at least but very seldom; but we found it otherwise.

My young lord had with him a faithful *Muscovite* servant, or rather a *Siberian* servant, who was perfectly acquainted with the country; and led us by private roads, that we avoided coming into the principal towns and cities upon the great road, such as *Tumen*, *Soloy Kamaskoy*, and several others; because the *Muscovite* garrisons, which are kept there, are very curious and strict in their observation upon travellers, and searching lest any of the banished persons of note should make their escape that way into *Muscovy*; but by this means, as we were kept out of the cities, so our whole journey was a desert, and we were obliged to encamp and lie in our tents, when we might have had very good accommodation in the cities on the way: this the young lord was so sensible of, that he would not allow us to lie abroad, when we came to several cities on the way; but lay abroad himself, with his servant, in the woods, and met us always at the appointed places.

We were just entered *Europe*, having passed the river *Kama*, which, in these parts, is the boundary between *Europe* and *Asia*; and the first city on the *European* side was called *Soloy Kamaskoy*, which is as much as to say, the great city on the river *Kama*;

and here we thought to have seen some evident alteration in the people, their manner, their habit, their religion, and their business ; but we were mistaken ; for as we had a vast desert to pass, which, by relation, is near seven hundred miles long in some places, but not above two hundred miles over where we passed it ; so, till we came past that horrible place, we found very little difference between that country and the *Mongul Tartary* ; the people mostly Pagans, and little better than the savages of *America* ; their houses and towns full of idols, and their way of living wholly barbarous, except in the cities as above, and the villages near them ; where they are Christians, as they call themselves, of the *Greek* church ; but have their religion mingled with so many reliques of superstition, that it is scarce to be known in some places from mere sorcery and witchcraft.

In passing this forest, I thought, indeed, we must, after all our dangers were, in our imagination, escaped, as before, have been plundered and robbed, and perhaps murdered by a troop of thieves ; of what country they were, whether the roving bands of the *Ostiachi*, a kind of *Tartars*, or wild people on the bank of the *Oby*, had ranged thus far ; or whether they were the sable-hunters of *Siberia*, I am yet at a loss to know ; but they were all on horseback, carried bows and arrows, and were at first about five-and-forty in number ; they came so near to us as within about two musquet shot ; and, asking no questions, they surrounded us with their horse, and looked very earnestly upon us twice ; at length they placed themselves just in our way ; upon which we drew up in a little line before our camels, being not above sixteen men in all ; and being drawn up thus, we halted, and sent out the *Siberian* servant who attended his lord, to see who they were ; his master was the more willing to let him go, because he was not a little apprehensive that they were a *Siberian* troop sent out after him. The man came up near them with a flag of truce, and called them ; but though he spoke

several of their languages, or dialects of languages rather, he could not understand a word they said: however, after some signs to him not to come nearer to them at his peril, so he said he understood them to mean, offering to shoot at him if he advanced, the fellow came back no wiser than he went, only that by their dress, he said, he believed them to be some *Tartars* of *Kalmuck*, or of the *Circassian* hordes; and that there must be more of them upon the great desert, though he never heard that any of them ever were seen so far north before.

This was small comfort to us; however, we had no remedy: there was on our left hand, at about a quarter of a mile's distance, a little grove or clump of trees, which stood close together, and very near the road; I immediately resolved we would advance to those trees, and fortify ourselves as well as we could there; for, first, I considered that the trees would in a great measure cover us from their arrows; and in the next place, they could not come to charge us in a body: it was, indeed, my old Portuguese pilot who proposed it; and who had this excellency attending him, namely, that he was always readiest and most apt to direct and encourage us in cases of the most danger. We advanced immediately with what speed we could, and gained that little wood, the *Tartars*, or thieves, for we know not what to call them, keeping their stand, and not attempting to hinder us. When we came thither, we found, to our great satisfaction, that it was a swampy, springy piece of ground, and, on the one side, a very great spring of water, which running out in a little rill or brook, was a little farther joined by another of the like bigness; and was, in short, the head or source of a considerable river, called afterwards the *Wirtska*. The trees which grew about this spring, were not all above two hundred, but were very large and stood pretty thick; so that as soon as we got in, we saw ourselves perfectly safe from the enemy, unless they alighted and attacked us on foot.

But my wonder was over, when I entered upon that subject with the person I have mentioned, who answered me thus. Consider, first, sir, said he, the place where we are ; and secondly, the condition we are in ; especially, said he, the generality of the people who are banished hither. We are surrounded, said he, with stronger things than bars and bolts : on the north side an unnavigable ocean, where ship never sailed, and boat never swam ; neither, if we had both, could we know where to go with them. Every other way, said he, we have above a thousand miles to pass through the Czar's own dominions, and by ways utterly unpassable, except by the roads made by the governor, and by the towns garrisoned by his troops ; so that we could neither pass undiscovered by the road, or subsist any other way ; so that it is in vain to attempt it.

I was silenced, indeed, at once, and found that they were in a prison every jot as secure as if they had been locked up in the castle at *Moscow* ; however, it came into my thought, that I might certainly be made an instrument to procure the escape of this excellent person, and that whatever hazard I run, I would certainly try if I could carry him off. Upon this I took an occasion one evening to tell him my thoughts : I represented to him, that it was very easy for me to carry him away, there being no guard over him in the country ; and as I was not going to *Moscow*, but to *Arch-Angel*, and that I went in the nature of a caravan, by which I was not obliged to lie in the stationary towns in the desert, but could encamp every night where I would, we might easily pass uninterrupted to *Arch-Angel*, where I would immediately secure him on board an *English* or *Dutch* ship, and carry him off safe along with me ; and as to his subsistence, and other particulars, it should be my care, till he could better supply himself.

He heard me very attentively, and looked earnestly on me all the while I spoke : nay, I could see in his very face, that what I

About an hour after, they made a motion to attack us again, and rode round our little wood, to see where else they might break in ; but finding us always ready to face them, they went off again, and we resolved not to stir from the place for that night.

We slept little, you may be sure ; but spent the most part of the night in strengthening our situation, and barricading the entrances into the wood ; and, keeping a strict watch, we waited for day-light, and, when it came, it gave us a very unwelcome discovery indeed : for the enemy, who, we thought, were discouraged with the reception they had met with, were now increased to no less than three hundred, and had set up eleven or twelve huts and tents, as if they were resolved to besiege us ; and this little camp they had pitched upon the open plain, at about three quarters of a mile from us. We were indeed surprised at this discovery ; and now, I confess, I gave myself over for lost, and all that I had. The loss of my effects did not lie so near me (*though they were very considerable*) as the thoughts of falling into the hands of such *barbarians*, at the latter end of my journey, after so many difficulties and hazards as I had gone through ; and even in sight of our port, where we expected safety and deliverance. As for my partner he was raging : he declared, that to lose his goods would be his ruin ; and he would rather die than be starved ; and he was for fighting to the last drop.

The young lord, as gallant as ever flesh shewed itself, was for fighting to the last also ; and my old pilot was of the opinion we were able to resist them all, in the situation we then were in : and thus we spent the day in debates of what we should do ; but towards evening, we found that the number of our enemies still increased : perhaps, as they were abroad in several parties for prey, the first had sent out scouts to call for help, and to acquaint them of the booty ; and we did not know but by the morning they might

still be a greater number ; so I began to inquire of those people we had brought from *Tobolski*, if there was no other or more private ways, by which we might avoid them in the night, and perhaps, either retreat to some town, or get help to guard us over the desert.

The *Siberian*, who was servant to the young lord, told us, if we designed to avoid them, and not fight, he would engage to carry us off in the night to a way that went north towards the *Petraz*, by which he made no question but we might get away, and the *Tartars* never the wiser ; but he said, his lord had told him he would not retreat, but would rather chuse to fight. I told him, he mistook his lord ; for that he was too wise a man to love fighting for the sake of it ; that I knew his lord was brave enough by what he had shewed already ; but that his lord knew better than to desire to have seventeen or eighteen men fight five hundred, unless an unavoidable necessity forced them to it ; and that if he thought it possible for us to escape in the night, we had nothing else to do but to attempt it. He answered, if his lord gave him such orders, he would lose his life if he did not perform it. We soon brought his lord to give that order, though privately, and we immediately prepared for the putting it in practice.

And first, as soon as it began to be dark, we kindled a fire in our little camp, which we kept burning, and prepared so as to make it burn all night, that the *Tartars* might conclude we were still there ; but, as soon as it was dark, that is to say, so as we could see the stars (for our guide would not stir before), having all our horses and camels ready loaden, we followed our new guide, who, I soon found, steered himself by the pole, or north star, all the country being level for a long way.

After we had travelled two hours very hard, it began to be lighter still ; not that it was quite dark all night, but the moon began to rise, so that, in short, it was rather lighter than we wished it to be ; but by six o'clock the next morning we were

gotten near forty miles, though the truth is, we almost spoiled our horses. Here we found a *Russian* village, named *Kirmanzinskey*, where we rested, and heard nothing of the *Kalmuck* *Tartars* that day. About two hours before night we set out again, and travelled till eight the next morning, though not quite so hard as before; and about seven o'clock we passed a little river, called *Kirtza*, and came to a good large town inhabited by *Russians*, and very populous, called *Ozomys*. There we heard, that several troops, or hordes of *Kalmucks* had been abroad upon the desert, but that we were now completely out of danger of them, which was to our great satisfaction, you may be sure. Here we were obliged to get some fresh horses, and having need enough of rest, we staid five days; and my partner and I agreed to give the honest *Siberian*, who brought us thither, the value of ten pistoles for his conducting us.

In five days more we came to *Veussima*, upon the river *Wit-zagda*, and running into the *Dwina*, we were there very happily near the end of our travels by land, that river being navigable in seven days' passage to *Arch-Angel*: from hence we came to *Lawrenskey*, the third of *July*; and providing ourselves with two luggage-boats, and a barge, for our own convenience, we embarked the seventh, and arrived all safe at *Arch-Angel* the eighteenth, having been a year, and five months, and three days on the journey, including our stay of eight months and odd days at *Tobolski*.

We were obliged to stay at this place six weeks for the arrival of the ships, and must have tarried longer, had not a *Hamburgher* come in above a month sooner than any of the *English* ships; when, after some consideration that the city of *Hamburgh* might happen to be as good a market for our goods as *London*, we all took freight with him; and having put my goods on board, it was most natural for me to put my steward on board to take care of them; by which means my young lord had a sufficient

opportunity to conceal himself, never coming on shore in all the time we staid there ; and this he did, that he might not be seen in the city, where some of the *Moscow* merchants would certainly have seen and discovered him.

We sailed from *Arch-Angel* the twentieth of *August* the same year ; and, after no extraordinary bad voyage, arrived in the *Elbe* the thirteenth of *September*. Here my partner and I found a very good sale for our goods, as well those of *China* as the sables, &c. of *Siberia* ; and dividing the produce of our effects, my share amounted to £3475 17s. 3d. notwithstanding so many losses we had sustained, and charges we had been at ; only remembering that I had included in this about six hundred pounds' worth of diamonds which I had purchased at *Bengal*.

Here the young lord took his leave of us, and went up the *Elbe*, in order to go to the court of *Vienna*, where he resolved to seek protection, and where he could correspond with those of his father's friends who were left alive. He did not part without all the testimonies he could give me of gratitude for the service I had done him, and his sense of my kindness to the prince his father.

To conclude : having staid near four months in *Hamburgh*, I came from thence over land to the *Hague*, where I embarked in the packet, and arrived in *London* the 10th of *January* 1705, having been gone from *England* ten years and nine months.

And here, resolving to harass myself no more, I am preparing for a longer journey than all these, having lived seventy-two years a life of infinite variety, and learned sufficiently to know the value of retirement, and the blessing of ending our days in peace.

THE END. ♦











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